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Abstract

The term gatekeepers in the context of this study is used to describe an individual who acts as a link between Spanish Americans and the urban culture system by introducing Spanish Americans to situations in which they can become socialized to Anglo urban roles. A sample of 73 gatekeepers in the city of Denver, Colorado, was selected on a reputational basis, and each selected gatekeeper was asked about his helping activities in relation to each of 9 social roles: (1) worker; (2) dweller; (3) church member; (4) manager of funds; (5) patient; (6) welfare client; (7) organization member; (8) legal client; and (9) mass consumer. In addition, each gatekeeper was asked to cite other individuals whom he utilized in carrying out gatekeeping activities, thus establishing a cross-reference of other gatekeepers. Cluster analysis was selected as the technique for isolating cliques formed by the cross-citation of the gatekeepers. Fifteen such cliques were identified in this manner. A conclusion of the study is that the informal nature of the identified gatekeeping system would be enhanced by bringing influential gatekeepers together as a panel of leaders to form a central gatekeeping station. [Not available in hard copy due to marginal legibility of original document.] (EV)

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GATEKEEPERS IN THE PROCESS OF ACCULTURATION

by

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B.A., Wartburg College, Waverly, Iowa, 1953

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate
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Spanish-Americans originating from a rural folk culture face problems in adjusting to life in the city. The problems which these individuals have are alleviated by persons in the urban community who are willing to assist them in adjusting to urban ways. The specific problem of this thesis was to describe the functions of persons who help the Spanish-Americans and explicate the structural relationships between persons engaged in providing help.

The concept of acculturation refers to change which takes place when members of two diverse cultures come into continuous contact. Research goals focused the interest on one-way change in the process of acculturation, that is, on the process of acculturating Spanish-Americans to the Anglo urban culture. The concept of systemic linkage refers to ties between two diverse cultures which facilitate the transmission of elements from one culture to another. The term, gatekeepers, was used to describe those persons who act as systemic links between the Spanish-Americans and the urban culture system. They introduce Spanish-Americans to situations in which they can become socialized to Anglo urban roles.

The concept of role context was used to identify specific areas in which the gatekeepers help Spanish-Americans. A role context is a cultural framework within which interactions occur as regularized patterns of behavior. The role contexts used in this study were the worker, dweller, church member, manager, patient, welfare client, organizational, legal, and mass media consumer roles. Gatekeeping is the process of helping rurally oriented Spanish-Americans cope with urban adjustment problems. As a consequence the Spanish surnamed become socialized to the expected patterns of behavior related to the roles in the urban milieu. An ideal model for a gatekeeping system was presented.

A sample of 73 subjects was selected on a reputational basis. The research instrument was based on the nine role contexts. Each subject was asked about his helping activity in a given role. He was asked who used him as a resource for helping persons in the role and whom he used as resources for helping persons in the role. Gatekeepers were asked to give specific examples of the way in which they helped persons, and a brief life history of each gatekeeper was procured.

An evaluation of the census material was made to determine the social characteristics of Spanish surnamed and non-Spanish persons in the city. The census analysis indicated that Spanish-Americans were disadvantaged in comparison to the non-Spanish population.

Cluster analysis was used to examine the structure of relationships among the gatekeepers. The 15 cliques discovered were based on the use persons make of each other in gatekeeping.

A residual group of gatekeepers appeared as cosmopolitan in relation to the cliques, for they had equally strong ties with two or more cliques. The functions of each clique and its relationships to community institutions were carefully described.

An original application of matrix analysis to the gatekeeper interrelationships resulted in a measure of the influence structure in the gatekeeping system. Additional insight into the structure of the gatekeeping system was gained when the findings were integrated with the results of the cluster analysis.

The observed gatekeeping system was compared to the ideal model for gatekeeping. The on-going, informal system tends to emphasize activity in only a few of the role contexts, gatekeepers tend to lack resources for help in role contexts, and they extend effort in helping persons in areas which lie outside of their particular fields of expertise. The ideal model demonstrates how the efficiency of the gatekeeping system can be improved without destroying its desirable informal properties

This abstract of about 600 words is approved as to form and content. I recommend its publication.

Signed ______________________________
Instructor in charge of dissertation

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FOREWORD

This study deals with a process of acculturation involving Spanish-Americans who come from a rural Spanish cultural background and who are now living in a modern Anglo urban setting. The research was supported by the National Institute of Mental Health as a part of a research project entitled "Urbanization of the Migrant: Processes and Outcomes."[1]

"Urbanization of the Migrant: Processes and Outcomes" is concerned with investigating the processes which characterize the experiences of Spanish-Americans recent to the city from the rural environment and with differentiating between processes which lead to failure and success of the migrant in the city. The study reported here grew out of an attempt to describe the activities of persons in the urban community who help the migrant experiencing difficulty in adjusting to urban life. The major objective is to describe the characteristics of persons who provide help, to determine the structure of the relationships which exist among these helpers, and to specify the functions which characterize their helper activity. The research was carried out in Denver, Colorado, and the research offices were provided by the Program on Social and Cultural Processes in the Institute of Behavioral Science, the

[1] The research is supported by the National Institute of Mental Health MH 09208 under the direction of Drs. Ozzie G. Simmons, Robert C. Hanson, and Jules J. Wanderer.

University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado.

The study is reported in twelve chapters. Chapter I summarizes the cultural differences which complicate the process of change from a rural to an urban environment for persons of Spanish descent. Chapter II presents a demographic profile of the Spanish-American in the city and county of Denver. The profile portrays some of the differences between the urban condition of Spanish surnamed persons and non-Spanish surnamed persons.

Chapter III contains the theoretical orientation which forms the framework for the study. The concept of "gatekeeper" is defined, and it is used to describe those who help migrants in the acculturation process. An ideal model for a gatekeeping system is also formulated. The fieldwork procedures and problems of sample selection are discussed in Chapter IV. Chapter V presents some of the characteristics of the sample interviewed in the study.

Chapter VI reports the use of a cluster analytic technique for isolating cliques of gatekeepers, and the cliques which emerge in the study are presented. A discussion of the gatekeeping functions of the cliques and their interrelationships comprises Chapters VII and VIII. Chapter IX discusses a unique method for distinguishing the key figures in the gatekeeping system through the use of matrix algebra. Some of the actual experiences of gatekeepers are reported in Chapter X. The concluding chapter contains a summary of the findings and relates the empirical gatekeeping system which was found in the city to the ideal model for gatekeeping.

The study reported here would not have been possible without the generous cooperation of many persons. I am particularly indebted to Dr. Robert C. Hanson, the thesis advisor, for his support and patience; to Drs. Blaine E. Mercer and Jules J. Wanderer, members of the thesis committee; to Dr. Ozzie G. Simmons, co-director of the research project "Urbanization of the Migrant: Processes and Outcomes," and Dr. Robert J. Potter, associate project director; and to Drs. Daniel E. Bailey and William N. McPhee for their advice and ideas on the use of analytic techniques.

I wish to acknowledge my debt to fellow graduate students, especially Gabino Rendon, Jr., David J. Pratto, and Samuel Yoshioka, for their willingness to discuss and evaluate the study as it was developed. Finally, I wish to thank all those in the community of Denver who participated in the study. The thesis would not have been possible without their donations of time, and their interest in the research.

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

The 1950 Census indicated that there were only 24,950 Spanish surnamed persons living in the city and county of Denver, Colorado, while the 1960 Census indicated that the number of Spanish surnamed persons in the city had risen to a total of 41,590. This means that there was an increase of 40 per cent in the Denver population of Spanish surnamed persons over a ten year period. Some of the increase may have been a result of the change in census methods for enumerating persons of Spanish descent. In the 1950 Census a panel of people were given lengthy instructions on the recognition of Spanish surnames, and on this basis they made a count of the number of Spanish surnames which appeared in the population figures for the five Southwestern American states. In the 1960 Census a list of Spanish surnames was given to the enumerators who then counted all those as Spanish whose names could be found on the list. Thus, the 1960 method used a refined operational definition, but the two methods were so similar that discrepancies should have been insignificant.[1]

On the basis of the Census, there has been a tremendous increase in the Spanish surnamed population in the city of Denver in recent years. A tremendous increase in the membership of any group of persons is interesting, but a rapid rise in the numbers of persons belonging to an ethnic minority in an urban area provides particularly unique and interesting problems. The problem becomes more apparent when the cultural background of the Spanish surnamed person is contrasted to the urban culture.

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[1] U.S. Bureau of the Census. U.S. Census Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Persons of Spanish Surname, Final Report, PC (2)-1B, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1963, p.viii.

George M. Foster felt that the Spanish-American population represented a unique culture.[2] He said, ". . . in anthropological terminology, Hispanic America can be thought of as an enormous culture area, modern in origin, distinct from British America and from all other world areas."[3] Foster listed distinctive attributes of the Hispanic American culture. (1) Although the basic language of Spanish-Americans is used by other peoples, Spanish-Americans have developed idiosyncracies which are unique to their own language. (2) The communities of Spanish-America are based on a plan which is original to the Americas. The community has a central plaza with a cathedral or a church in the center surrounded by government buildings and the market place. The houses of the wealthiest families are in the center of town, while the poor people live on the outskirts of the community. Foster noted that the community plan is disappearing due to the influence of modern Anglo ideas, but it can still be seen in many Southwestern communities.[4] (3) They have a fairly inflexible social class system. (4) Large extended families are emphasized, and they place great importance on good personal relationships within the extended family. (5) The male has legal dominance; he has freedom to exercise the double sex standard and is noted for his love of and desire for many children. (6) Most Spanish-Americans are members of the Roman Catholic Church, and a great deal of their worship is directed to the Virgin Mary. (7) They hold to a democratic form of government, but political activity and influence is based on personal relations. There is a notable lack of the impersonal bureaucracy which characterizes most democracies. (8) External forms of human relationships are stressed, and they have developed elaborate systems of courtesy. (9) They value personal freedom and personal pride, thus authority can be flouted without criticism, but personal power is desired and the strong man is praised. (10) Work is seen as a necessary evil which if possible, should be avoided. (11) Their medical beliefs are similar to those of medieval Spain, but medical remedies show the influence of native Indian practices.[5]

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[2] George M. Foster, Culture and Conquest: America's Spanish Heritage (New York: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Incorporated, 1960), pp. 1-9.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

Foster used the concept of "cultural crystallization" to describe the unique culture which developed out of the Spanish conquest and settlement of the Southwest. The interchange between the Spanish settlers and the native American population, and the relative isolation of the Spanish settlers from European influences, resulted in the crystallization of a new culture.[6]

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[4] Ibid., pp. 3-4.

[5] Ibid., p. 4.

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck focused their study on the values which are prominent in the Spanish-American culture. They discussed the dominating values in a framework which included five dimensions: (1) the human nature orientation, or the character of innate human nature; (2) the relational orientation, or the modality of man's relationship to other men; (3) the time orientation, or the temporal focus of life; (4) the man-nature orientation, or the relationship of man to nature; and (5) the activity orientation, or the modality of human activity.[7]

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck characterized Spanish-Americans as persons who viewed human nature as being innately good and evil, with the possibility for an individual to develop either the good or evil aspects of his given nature.[8] Their relational orientation is characterized by a dominance of individualistic elements, that is, one's relations to others is dependent on one's own individual performance. The other possible alternatives used by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck for relational orientation included lineal membership, or the dependence of one's relations with others on generational and age factors, and collateral membership where relations with others is dependent on one's position in the social order and in social groupings.[9]

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[6] Ibid., pp. 226-234.

[7] Florence Rockwood Kluckhohn and Fred L. Strodtbeck, Variations in Value Orientations (Elmsford, New York: Row, Peterson and Company, 1961), pp. 11-20.

[8] Ibid., p. 343.

According to Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, the Spanish-American is oriented to the present in his time perspective. The future and the past hold little importance in the Hispanic American culture. The only importance for the future is expressed in terms of religious eschatological beliefs. Their man-nature orientation emphasizes the subjugation of man to nature. They do not perceive man to be in harmony with nature, nor do they think of man as having the potential to master natural phenomena. The Spanish-American orientation to activity stresses "being," which means that the concern for the individual revolves around "what he is" rather than what he can become, or what he can do.[10]

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck found the Spanish-American culture to be unique in the framework of the value orientations which they used in their study. But the authors were anxious to point out that the Spanish culture is in a stage of transition. They concluded, "But however superficial these changes may now appear to be relative to Spanish-American _dominant_ value orientations, they nonetheless indicate that basic changes in the total value system are to be expected. There can be no turning back by these people, given the facts that they are firmly held within the borders of the United

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[9] _Ibid_., p. 350.

[10] _Ibid_., p. 350.

States and are increasingly subjected to dominant Anglo-American culture as one by one the small villages like Atrisco decay and the inhabitants of them move off to urban centers."[11]

Margaret Clark, in her study of health and illness among Spanish-Americans in San Jose, California, pointed out some of the cultural differences which she observed. She found that the Spanish surnamed in San Jose place great emphasis on social class differences, based on a classification of upper, middle, and low class Spanish persons. They pattern their social relations along class lines. They also emphasize kinship relations based on blood and marriage ties. Clark found that relatives tended to live in close proximity to each other, and they considered this to be a desirable state of affairs. Included in the kinship structure is the _compadrazgo_ system, where the baptismal sponsor of a child assumes an important role in decisions related to the child's welfare. The sponsor is also one to whom the child can turn for help, and the relationship continues after the child reaches maturity. Clark also noted that the Spanish emphasized religious activity. Although 26 per cent of the population are Protestant and 70 per cent are Catholic, all are equally active in religious functions. She found that only four per cent of the community's members were not affiliated with a church.[12]

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[11] _Ibid_., p. 257.

[12] Margaret Clark, _Health in the Mexican-American Culture: A Community Study_ (Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1959), pp. 22-28.

Clark concludes her discussion of Spanish-American characteristics with presentation of male dominance and medical beliefs. Clark found that the male held dominance in the Spanish family and that generally a high evaluation was placed on large families.[13] Their medical beliefs are based on 16th Century Spanish medical conceptions, with modifications which are unique to the Spanish-American health belief system in Southwestern United States.[14] The Spanish-American in San Jose places little value on future planning but is concerned primarily with the present.[15] Although Clark's study was concerned with health and illness beliefs and practices among Spanish-Americans, she found the presence of cultural elements in a Spanish-American community which agrees with the findings of the other reports cited here.

Lyle Saunders, in his study of Spanish persons of southern Colorado and northern New Mexico and problems related to modern medical care programs, contrasted Anglo and Spanish attitudes and values.[16] He felt the language difference is one of the key elements which separates Spanish persons from the Anglo culture which surrounds them. The difference in languages not only creates communication barriers, but each language embodies a set of distinct meanings in relation to the sensory world. Saunders said, "Language enables us to make sense out of reality. It provides for each of us a way of isolating, categorizing, and relating phenomena without which experience could be only a confused succession of sensations and impressions."[17] To exemplify, the author tells that if an Anglo is late for work because he missed the bus, he accepts it as his responsibility for being late. But the Spanish speaking person does not miss the bus, for in his language it is the bus which leaves him, and he is not likely to accept the responsibility for being late to work.[18]

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[13] _Ibid_., pp. 153-155.

[14] _Ibid_., p. 164.

[15] _Ibid_., p. 223.

[16] Lyle Saunders, _Cultural Difference and Medical Care_ (New York: The Russell Sage Foundation, 1954), pp. 104-140.

Saunders discusses the orientation which the two cultures have to time. The Anglo is future oriented, and present activity is geared to meet future goals. Thus time becomes of paramount importance, and it is broken up into small segments. Each segment is assumed to be important for fulfilling future goals. Time is then interpreted in economic terms. The Spanish-American is oriented to the present, and no attempt is made to divide time up into small units for specific tasks so that future events might be controlled. The past rural experience of the Spanish population has not developed notions that specific goals must be met daily, for the activities of rural life were not so urgent. Moreover, other social activities in the present are seen as more important than labor which might result in future rewards.[19]

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[17] *Ibid*., p. 116.

[18] *Ibid*., p. 117.

[19] *Ibid*., pp. 117-122.

The Anglo culture has a notion of progress and looks forward to changes which are assumed to be indications that the world is coming closer and closer to perfection. Saunders observed that the Spanish culture does not include an idea of progress but is accustomed to seeing the world as a static agrarian place in which change is uncommon. They tend to distrust change, for, with no vision of a world which can be better in the future through progress, change is only a threat to the security of traditional ways.[20]

Saunders described the Anglos as doers in relation to work and as concerned about the most efficient means by which goals can be accomplished. The Spanish-American is more concerned with what he "is" than with what he "does." Work is necessary to provide basic needs, but beyond that the Spanish speaking people place little value on work as an end in itself. Efficiency is not likely to be of concern unless time is counted as economically important, and the Spanish concept of time does not lead him to seek for more and more efficient means of goal achievement.[21]

The Spanish cultural system includes a strong notion of fate, or "the will of God," and Saunders pointed out that this lies behind their tendency to resign themselves to difficulties rather than feel obligated to struggle against them. In contrast, Anglos feel obligated to expend every effort in overcoming problems which come upon them. Although the Spanish have positive values for the strong individual, they define him in terms of what he is, not in regard to what he does. They have no cultural hero who is noted for overcoming great obstacles to achieve goals. Their hero is one who is somebody in terms of his personal relations with others.[22]

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[20] Ibid., pp. 122-124.

[21] Ibid., pp. 124-128.

The Anglo takes great pride in remaining independent from others, but in the Spanish culture independence is a quality of the community and not of the individual. The Spanish person expects that he can turn to relatives or community patrons in the time of need, and he also accepts the fact that others will come to him for help. He feels moral responsibility to help others and accept help when he needs it, whereas the Anglo has guilt feelings when he becomes directly dependent on others.[23]

The final difference which Saunders noted between the two cultures concerned relation to formal organizations. Anglos are always ready to participate in organizational activities, and through such cooperation they develop organizational and leadership abilities. The Spanish person, however, comes from a background where formal organizations were relatively unknown, and informal community effort accomplished necessary cooperative tasks. As they move into the Anglo-urban milieu, they find themselves handicapped by a lack of organizational experience and cannot readily represent their collective interests in the urban area.[24] Saunders' summary of cultural differences gives further insight into the cultural factors which intervene in the adaptation of the Spanish-Americans to the Anglo culture.

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[22] Ibid., pp. 128-133.

[23] Ibid., pp. 133-135.

Bernard Valdez also described some of the basic differences between the rural Spanish surnamed person, and the Anglo-American.[25] He categorized the cultural contrasts under the major headings of (1) family, (2) education, (3) time orientation, and (4) business. The following discussion presents a summary of Valdez' observations.[26]

In his family relationships, the Anglo looks upon marriage as a partnership which is primarily concerned with the interests of the two parties, and family approval of a marriage is not sought. In the Spanish folk culture, however, marriage is considered to be of direct concern to the two families involved, and approval of the union is of great importance. There are no clearcut roles for husband and wife in the Anglo family according to Valdez. Often both husband and wife provide economic support for the family. The rural Spanish family has distinct roles for husband and wife. The husband is the provider and head of the household, while the wife is confined to household duties.[27]

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[24] Ibid., pp. 135-138.

[25] Bernard Valdez, "Contrasts Between Spanish Folk and Anglo Urban Cultural Values," Denver, 1963. (Mimeographed.)

[26] Ibid., p. 1-5.

[27] Ibid., p. 1.

Anglo families tend to be small, and the children are encouraged to become independent of the family at an early age. The Anglo child is particularly influenced and under the control of institutions outside of the family. The Spanish family, on the other hand, values a large number of children, and the children remain subordinate to their family of origin even after they have reached maturity. Outside institutions have little influence on the children of the Spanish folk culture, and the family is the major source of control and influence over the children.[28]

The Anglo-urban culture tends to see the nuclear family as an independent unit, and extended family relationships are not retained. The Spanish family maintains its extended family ties, and all blood relatives are considered a part of the immediate family unit. The family is also the source of security in time of crises for the rural Spanish person. The Anglo system, however, provides numerous outside agencies which provide security for its members.[29]

Recreation in the Anglo culture is based on organizations outside of the family unit and is generally organized along age and sex group divisions rather than total family involvement. Spanish folk society maintains close interfamilial ties in social and recreational functions. Religion, for the urban Anglo, is administered by an outside agency, and training in religion is assumed by the church. In the folk culture religious participation and training is an integral part of family life.[30]

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[28] _Ibid_., p.1.

[29] _Ibid_., p. 2.

Valdez also felt that the Anglo family has a different perception of "home" than the rural Spanish family. Anglo homes are primarily places for rest, and most productive activities are carried on outside of the home. The Spanish-American home, on the other hand, is used as a center for productive and consumptive activity.[31]

Education plays a predominant role in the Anglo system. It is competitive, compulsory, and is aimed at preparing pupils for a life of social competition. The rural Spanish culture has no values for an aggressive educational program. The past cultural experience of the Spanish surnamed did not demand formal education, and it is looked on as a casual pursuit which should be engaged in without a competitive spirit.[32]

The rural Spanish culture has no notion of success which is comparable to the idea of success in the Anglo culture. Success, for the Spanish-American, is related to the maintenance of good personal relations, rather than the achievement of material goals. Valdez pointed out that time and its use is dependent on immediate concerns in the Spanish society, rather than strategic time budgets which are established for the purpose of accomplishing material goals in some unforeseeable future. The cultural framework of the Spanish is adapted to a relatively static existence and is dependent on the maintenance of the status quo, so there is no great interest in achievements of the present which result in change in the future. Problems which extend beyond the present are generally seen as best left in the hands of Providence.[33]

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[30] _Ibid_., p. 2.

[31] _Ibid_., p. 2.

[32] _Ibid_., p. 2.

There are also differences between the two cultures in the area of business. Anglos accept the profit motive, and life is geared to deal with transactions involving gain through trade. The Spanish-American, however, does not have a legacy of profit transaction, and trade is based on exchange of goods for equal value.[34]

Valdez outlined the cultural differences which have been discussed and pointed out the importance of their existence. He said, in speaking of the Spanish-American who is faced with adjustment to the Anglo urban culture, "His problems now arise from different cultural value concepts which are challenging his own. Some of these new and different concepts are in direct contradiction to many of the traditions which have been a part of his way of life. Some of these traditions involve his attitudes toward his family and the concept of the meaning of life itself."[35]

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[33] Ibid., p. 3.

[34] Ibid., pp. 3-4.

[35] Ibid., p. 1.

The studies which have been summarized in the above discussion present a description of the cultural background of Spanish-Americans. The descriptions may be an ideal representation of the Spanish cultural heritage, and they may overlook some of the aspects of the culture which are meaningful to the members but not apparent to the student of culture. But the ideal descriptions present the major elements which enable one to distinguish the culture as unique. Components of a culture, such as those described in the literature which has been reviewed, form the framework or sense-making mechanism for the members of a culture and provide them with a particular orientation to the world. Perhaps the primary significance of the Spanish cultural system is that it provides solutions to the world in terms of a relatively primitive agricultural existence and fails to provide ready and acceptable solutions to problems which are encountered in the urban milieu.

Literature dealing specifically with the Anglo-American culture gives further insight into the chasm which exists between the Spanish-American and the Anglo culture systems. Parsons and Bales described the Anglo family as an isolated, nuclear unit; that is, kinship ties, beyond the immediate family, have lost their importance, and the family, composed of husband, wife, and children, is independent of extended family members. Family status is based on the performance of the individual family members. Thus "doing" is the criterion for status rather than "being" for the Anglo family within the broader community. Children are taught to be independent at an early age, which prepares them for the establishment of their own independent family unit when they reach maturity.

Male dominance is depreciated, for male and female siblings have equal status in the family. The husband is important in terms of his occupation and not in terms of norms which arbitrarily define him as important because he is the male head of a household. Parsons and Bales do not agree with Valdez's conclusions that male and female roles are confused in regard to the division of labor, for they concluded that the wife still has the clearly defined role of housekeeper and mother.[36]

Robin Williams arrived at conclusions which are similar to those of Parsons and Bales.[37] He pointed out that the conjugal family is the major consumption and social unit in the Anglo-American culture. Extended family ties are not only minimized, but the immediate family is expected to operate as an independent unit, and its failure to do so is perceived as a violation of societal norms. Thus, the family which fails to establish neolocal residence, and moves in with extended family members, is participating in deviant behavior. There is little emphasis on family tradition or continuity, for each independent family's activities determine the status which the family has.[38]

Williams also felt that the freedom for choice of marriage partners is a corollary of the independent role of the family in society. Individuals who approach marriage need not consider the kin approval of a marriage partner, for they need not fit into a kin group residential structure. Williams agreed with Parsons and Bales that the role of the wife is still basically that of mother and housekeeper. He cites studies which indicate that most women in the labor force are either single, divorced, widowed, or have no children in the home to care for.[39]

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[36] Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, _Family_, _Socialization and Interaction Process_ (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955), pp. 10-14.

[37] Robin M. Williams, Jr., _American Society: A Sociological Interpretation_ (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), pp. 50-85.

[38] _Ibid_., pp. 50-52.

Williams noted that the Anglo-American family is subject to influence and control from outside agencies. The comparatively limited social unit which the family forms makes it a highly permeable social system. It is influenced by agencies extending all the way from nursery schools to insurance institutions which provide family security at the time of a member's death. The family unit is not equipped to meet the obligations imposed on it by modern society; consequently, many obligations related to the family's welfare are met by state supported institutions.[40]

Hauser presented a similar picture of the Anglo-urban family.[41] He noted that many responsibilities, formerly met by the extended family, have been taken over by other social institutions, and he said, "In the city, social institutions tend to be

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[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 53-65.

[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 81-86.

[41] Philip M. Hauser, "Urbanization: An Overview," *The Study of Urbanization*, ed. Philip M. Hauser and Leo F. Schnore (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965), pp. 23-26.

'enacted' rather than 'cresive' that is, spontaneous. In the mass society social institutions are frequently invented, are the product of administrative edict or legislation, rather than the result of slow development representing the crystallization of patterns of thought and action as a product of group life."[42] Hauser also felt that in the Anglo-urban situation the isolated family loses its power to exercise informal social control over family members. He stated that "Informal social control, effected largely through the play of folkways and the mores, gives way to increased formal control, the control of law, police, courts, jail, regulations, and orders."[43] Hauser then concluded that "Formal controls have by no means proved as efficacious as the informal in regulating human behavior."[44]

Louis Wirth's comments on the urban society are representative of the proponents of the folk-urban continuum as a descriptive model of folk versus urban culture.[45] Wirth was concerned with developing a general theory which would account for the differences which exist between urban and folk life. He said, "On the basis of the three variables, number, density of settlement, and degree of heterogeneity, of the urban population, it appears possible to explain the characteristics of urban life and to account for the

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[42] Ibid., pp. 24-25.

[43] Ibid., p. 20.

[44] Ibid., p. 30.

[45] Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," Louis Wirth on Cities and Social Life, ed. Albert J. Reiss, Jr. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), pp. 60-83.

differences between cities of various sizes and types."[46] Wirth attempted to summarize the social characteristics of urban life. He included (1) secondary rather than primary contacts, (2) weak kinship bonds, (3) declining social significance of family, (4) disappearance of the neighborhood as an instrument of informal social control, (5) undermining of the traditional basis of social solidarity, (6) specialized institutions to deal with former family obligations such as health, education, and recreation, and (7) loss of individual identification except in relation to organizational affiliations. Wirth felt that all of these urban characteristics, involving secularization, tenuous personal relationships, increased segmentation of roles, and ill-defined norms result in increased personal disorganization and maladjustment.[47]

The items of interest in relation to Wirth's contributions are the social characteristics of the urban culture and their propensity to disorganize the individual. Wirth's conclusion that personal disorganization and fragmentation of interpersonal relations are concomitant with urban life has been questioned by others. Sjoberg argued that Wirth's conclusions are not necessary consequences of urban living.[48] He said, "Moreover, to counterbalance an overemphasis upon disorganization, urban sociologists who view the city as the independent variable should pay greater heed to social organizations. After all, urban centers, unlike rural areas, are the focal points of political organization and power and of formal education, and cities are typically regulated by more numerous formal social controls than are rural communities."[49] Sjoberg felt that in many respects there was more organization and better developed methods of social control in urban centers, and the likelihood of increased personal disorganization in a city was not established.

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[46] Ibid., p. 77.

[47] Ibid., pp. 79-83.

[48] Gideon Sjoberg, "Comparative Urban Sociology," Sociology Today, ed. Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom, and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr. (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959), pp. 334-359.

Oscar Lewis also challenged the conclusions of Wirth.[50] He said, "Wirth himself showed some of the contradictory aspects of city life without relating them to his theory of urbanism. He writes of the city as the historic center of progress, of learning, of higher standards of living, and all that is hopeful for the future of mankind, but he also points to the city as the locus of slums, crime, and disorganization. According to Wirth's theory both the carriers of knowledge and progress (the elite and the intellectuals) and the ignorant slum dwellers have a similar urban personality, since presumably they share in the postulated urban anonymity and so on."[51] Lewis felt that the urban situation as such was not to be considered the causal factor in the disorganization experienced by individuals, and he pointed out that the experience of an individual in the urban milieu is dependent on many other factors.

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[49] Ibid., p. 344.

[50] Oscar Lewis, "The Folk-Urban Ideal Types," The Study of Urbanization, ed. Philip M. Hauser and Leo F. Schnore (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965), pp. 491-517.

[51] Ibid., pp. 496-497.

Many of the Spanish-Americans who migrate to the city face difficulties in life which are exaggerated in comparison to other city dwellers. Chapter II presents a detailed analysis of census material on social characteristics of the Spanish surnamed population in the city of Denver, and they are contrasted to non-Spanish urban dwellers. The social profile which emerges for Spanish-Americans clearly demonstrates that they are disadvantaged in comparison to the non-Spanish population.

The economic and social disadvantages endured by the persons of Spanish descent are perhaps due to their lack of urban skills. The lack of these skills in turn is based on the culture from which they come, for the Spanish cultural system does not provide solutions to urban life. The orientation of the Spanish-American to the family, education, time, and business is in conflict with the orientation of urban society. The effects of the cultural disjunction become apparent in the analysis of the urban demographic characteristics of Spanish-Americans.

CHAPTER II

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF URBAN SPANISH-AMERICANS

Cultural differences distinguish the Spanish surnamed from the Anglo urban population. It is also possible to identify the demographic characteristics of the Spanish-Americans in Denver through census materials. A detailed analysis of the census data is presented in this chapter which demonstrates that the person of Spanish descent is disadvantaged in relation to the non-Spanish population on the basis of demographic variables.[1]

Because there is some difficulty in knowing precisely which population is being referred to when the term Spanish-American is used, it is of primary concern here that the population under investigation in this report is clearly defined. The Bureau of the Census has wavered a great deal in the populations it has included under the titles of Mexican, persons of Spanish origin, or Spanish surnamed people. In 1930 the Bureau included a new category designed to include persons of Mexican origin and of Spanish-Colonial descent. Prior censuses had separately enumerated persons of Mexican birth or parentage, but in the 1930 Census an attempt was made to include

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[1] U. S. Bureau of the Census. U. S. Census of Population and Housing: 1960. Census Tracts. Final Report PHC (1)-38. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1961.

Spanish persons of American and Mexican origin within one racial category.[2]

The change in 1930 consisted in instructions to place all persons of Mexican origin who were not white, Negro, Indian, or Japanese into one category. In the 1940 Census persons were placed in the racial category of Mexican on the basis of Spanish mother tongue. In the 1950 and 1960 Censuses the criterion for classifying persons of Spanish origin was again changed to include all persons with a Spanish surname. A list of about 7,000 Spanish surnames was given to the coders who classified all persons as Spanish whose names appeared on the list. Names which were questionable were referred to a panel of experts for further consideration.[3]

The population in this report consists of persons of Spanish surnames as enumerated in the 1960 Census. The particular population is referred to as Spanish-American, Spanish surnamed, persons of Spanish origin, and other titles, with no intent except to indicate the Spanish surnamed population as enumerated by the Bureau of the Census.

The population under concern is further limited to Spanish surnamed persons living in the city and county of Denver, Colorado. The boundaries of the city and the county of Denver coincide, and within these boundaries lie the census tracts used by the Bureau of the Census for population enumeration. The analysis of Spanish-Americans in Denver will be limited to these geographic boundaries.

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[2] U. S. Bureau of the Census. U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Persons of Spanish Surname. Final Report PC(2)-1B. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1963, pp. vii-ix.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. viii-ix.

Characteristics of Spanish surnamed persons are presented separately in the census material only when there are 400 or more persons of Spanish descent living in a census tract. Furthermore, characteristics which are presented only for Spanish surnamed persons are quite limited. The analysis which includes only Spanish surnamed persons is concluded on p. 39. In order to look at more information which is relevant to a description of the social characteristics of Spanish-Americans, the percentage of Spanish-Americans in each tract in Denver has been computed. On the basis of the percentage of Spanish surnamed persons within each tract, analysis can be pursued which gives further insight into the characteristics of persons of Spanish origin in Denver.[4]

The city and county of Denver is divided into 97 census tracts. Twenty-five of the tracts have 10 per cent or more Spanish surnamed persons living in them, while the remaining 72 tracts have less than 10 per cent or no Spanish surnamed persons within their boundaries. For the sake of convenience the 25 tracts with 10 per cent or more Spanish will be referred to as the "Spanish tracts." Five of the 25 Spanish tracts have 50 per cent or more Spanish-American persons within their boundaries. Eight of the tracts have from 25-49 per cent Spanish persons, and 12 tracts have from 10-24 per cent

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[4] U. S. Bureau of the Census, PHC(1)-38, pp. 1-3.

Spanish-Americans. In this analysis we will refer to the five tracts with 50 per cent or more Spanish as Zone I, the eight tracts with 25-49 per cent Spanish as Zone II, and the 12 tracts with 10-24 per cent Spanish as Zone III of the Spanish tracts. (See Table 1.)

TABLE I

THE SPANISH TRACTS[5]

	Tract Number	No. of Spanish	Total Population	Per cent of Spanish
Zone I	0008	2,344	4,138	57
	0012	863	1,519	57
	0016	1,031	1,876	55
	0019	3,051	5,552	55
	0022	3,007	5,821	52
Zone II	0024-A	2,456	6,201	40
	0018	1,442	3,717	39
	0011-A	1,198	3,371	36
	0036-A	2,268	7,259	31
	0025	612	2,023	30
	0011-B	1,220	4,165	29
	0015	1,472	5,294	28
	0035-B	570	2,315	25
Zone III	0045-B	1,705	7,229	24
	0021	1,696	8,075	21
	0002-B	1,004	5,364	19
	0006	669	3,584	19
	0007	1,605	8,935	18
	0035-A	751	4,357	17
	0020	439	2,649	17
	0004-B	1,234	7,892	16
	0009-A	875	6,613	13
	0010	480	4,388	11
	0045-A	768	6,839	11
	0036-B	496	5,172	10

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[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 15-22.

According to the census data, there are a total of 43,147 Spanish-Americans in the city and county of Denver. The 25 tracts with 10 per cent or more Spanish persons in their populations include a total of 33,256 Spanish surnamed persons; therefore, 77 per cent of the Spanish-American population in the city and county of Denver live in the Spanish tracts. The total number of persons living in the Spanish tracts is 124,348, so 27 per cent of the population in the 25 tracts are of Spanish descent.

The total population in the city and county of Denver includes 493,887 persons, of which nine per cent are Spanish surnamed. The Spanish tracts, presented in Table 1, include about 25 per cent of the population of the city and county of Denver, but 77 per cent of the Spanish-Americans in Denver live in this area. On the basis of these tracts one should be able to arrive at a meaningful demographic profile of the Spanish surnamed person who lives in the city and county of Denver.[6]

The census material presents information which deals only with the Spanish-American population. The data for Spanish only characteristics are presented in Tables 2 through 7, and this analysis is concluded on p. 39. The data are the general characteristics of the population such as age structure, marital status, years of school completed, family income, and employment status. The information in these areas is presented in the census material only for tracts which have 400 or more Spanish surnamed persons. In order to make the results of the Census material for Spanish surnamed persons only comparable to the percentage categories employed in Table 1, only tracts which conform with the criteria presented above for inclusion of tracts in Table 1 will be used. Only three other tracts have more than 400 Spanish surnamed persons, but less than 10 per cent of the persons in these tracts are of Spanish origin, so they have been excluded from the analysis.

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[6] Ibid., p. 15.

The Spanish-American in the city and county of Denver tends to be younger than the rest of the population. Table 2 illustrates the magnitude of the age differences. The mean age for Spanish surnamed males in Denver is 9.02 years younger than for other males in Denver, and females are 12.45 years younger than other females.

TABLE 2

AGE DISTRIBUTION[7]

		Males		Females	
		Mean	Median	Mean	Median
Zone I	50% or more Spanish-American	23.84	16.06	22.11	15.23
Zone II	25-40% Spanish-American	23.20	17.44	23.40	18.02
Zone III	10-24% Spanish-American	22.76	15.05	21.63	16.89
Spanish Tracts	Total of all Spanish-Americans	23.23	17.00	22.37	16.80
	Total city and county of Denver	32.00	29.97	34.01	32.28
	City and county of Denver less Spanish-Americans in Spanish tracts	32.55	27.69	34.82	30.38
	Total SMSA		27.30		28.90

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[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 85-94.

The median age of males of Spanish descent in the city of Denver is 17.0 years while other males in Denver have a median age 27.69 years. Spanish-American females have a median age of 16.80 years while all other females in Denver have a median age of 30.38 years.

The comparative youthfulness of the Spanish-American is not only apparent in relation to the city and county of Denver, but it is also true for the entire Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area. In considering the broader area, which includes all the suburbia of Denver as well as the villages and rural populations of Adams, Arapahoe, Boulder, and Jefferson counties, the median age for Spanish-American males is 10.30 years younger and the females are 12.10 years younger than the non-Spanish population.

Another distinguishing feature of Spanish surnamed persons in Denver involves their marital status. Table 3 presents data for males and females over 14 years of age, and there are notable differences which set the Spanish-American apart from the rest of the population.

Male and female Spanish-Americans are more likely to be single than others in the city of Denver. Thirty per cent of the males of Spanish descent in the Spanish tracts are single, while the total population in the city and county of Denver has only 23 per cent of its males single. Overall, 24 per cent of the Spanish females are single, while only 19 per cent of all the females in the city of Denver are single.

The Spanish tracts have 64 per cent of the Spanish males married, while 69 per cent of the males are married in the rest of the

TABLE 3

MARITAL STATUS (AGE 14 YEARS AND OVER)[8]

		Single %	Married %	(Separated) %	Widowed %	Divorced %
Zone I	M	31	61	(8)	5	3
	F	25	60	(13)	10	5
Zone II	M	31	63	(7)	4	2
	F	26	63	(12)	7	4
Zone III	M	28	66	(3)	4	2
	F	21	71	(7)	5	3
Spanish tracts	M	30	64	(6)	4	2
	F	24	65	(11)	7	4
All persons, including Spanish-Americans, in city and county of Denver	M	23	69	(2)	4	4
	F	19	61	(3)	14	6

city. As the percentage of Spanish in the three Zones decreases, the Spanish surnamed person becomes like others in the city of Denver in regard to the marital state. It must be recalled that the data here are for Spanish only, so the changes in marital status are actual changes in the marital patterns of the Spanish population. Thus, although only 61 per cent of the males in Zone I are married, 66 per cent of them are married in Zone III.

In contrast to Spanish males, Spanish females over 14 years of age are more likely to be married than other females in Denver. Sixty-five per cent of them are married, whereas among other females in Denver only 61 per cent are married. It should also be noted that as the ethnic population decreases, in relation to the rest of the population, the likelihood of its members being married increases. Thus, in Zone I only 60 per cent of the Spanish females are married, but in Zone III 71 per cent of the females are married.

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[8] Ibid., 85-94.

Information on separations in marriage give further insight into the marital state of the population. Males of Spanish descent in Zones I, II, and III show eight per cent, seven per cent, and three per cent separations respectively, with an overall average of six per cent married Spanish males living in a state of separation from their wives.

Spanish surnamed females demonstrate higher percentages of their members living in separation than is true for the males. Zone I has 13 per cent, Zone II has 12 per cent, and Zone III has seven per cent of the females separated from their husbands. The overall percentage of separation, 11 per cent for Spanish females and six per cent for Spanish males, far exceeds that of the rest of the population which has only two per cent separations among males and three per cent among females. Thus, the Spanish female is almost four times as likely, on the average, to live apart from her husband, while the husband, on the average, is three times as likely to live away from his wife than non-Spanish wives and husbands in the city of Denver.

However, divorce does not have the popularity which separation does in the Spanish population. Only two per cent of the Spanish males and four per cent of the Spanish females in the Spanish tracts are divorced. Among the rest of the Denver population four per cent of the males and six per cent of the females are divorced. Persons who have a Spanish surname are less likely to be divorced than others in the city of Denver.

It is also noted that four per cent of the males and seven per cent of the females in the Spanish tracts are widowed. Spanish males are as apt to be widowed as other males in Denver. Fourteen per cent of the non-Spanish females are widows, thus twice as many non-Spanish females are widowed as Spanish surnamed females.

In summary, the Spanish-American male is more likely to be single. When he does marry, his chances of separation are three times as great as those of non-Spanish origin, but his chances of divorce are only one half that of all other males in the city and county of Denver. Females of Spanish origin are more likely to be either single or married than other females in the population, due to the fact that only half as many of the Spanish females are widows and only one third as many divorces occur in their ranks as compared to the rest of the females in Denver. The low divorce rate is offset by the fact that for every three separations which occur among non-Spanish females, eleven separations occur among Spanish females.

Also strategic in relation to the urban Spanish-American is training and education. Unfortunately, the Spanish-American is disadvantaged in both areas. Table 4 points out some of the differences in education between the Spanish living in the Spanish tracts and the rest of the population of Denver for persons aged 25 or older. Only one per cent of the males in the city of Denver have no education, except for the Spanish surnamed population which has

TABLE 4

EDUCATION OF PERSONS 25 YEARS AND OLDER[9]

	No School %	1-4 yrs %	5-8 yrs %	9-12 yrs %	College 1-3 yrs %	College 4 or more %
Zone I	11	20	46	22	0.7	0.3
Zone II	7	18	42	31	1.5	.5
Zone III	4	11	40	40	3.5	1.5
All Spanish Tracts	7	16	43	31	2	1
City and county of Denver less Spanish-Americans	1	3	23	46	14	13

seven per cent of its members with no education. Sixty-six per cent of the Spanish-Americans have eight years or less of formal education, while only 27 per cent of the others in Denver have less than eight years. Only three per cent of the persons of Spanish origin have had any experience with college education, while 27 per cent of the non-Spanish population has had such experience. Only 34 per cent of the Spanish go beyond eight years of education, while the rest of the population in the city and county of Denver has 73 per cent of its members who have gone beyond eight years of formal schooling.

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[9] _Ibid_., pp. 85-94.

Table 4 also points out that the Spanish in Zones with a lower percentage of Spanish-Americans show higher achievement in education. Those in Zone I show considerably less achievement than those in Zone II, and those in Zone II show less achievement than those in Zone III. Thus, the smaller in proportion their minority becomes, the more likely they are to be like the rest of the population.

Information on family income provides a better picture of the life Spanish surnamed persons have in the urban area. The information presented in Table 5 is based on family income for 1959, and it includes the income of all family members over 14 years of age. The reported income is that amount received prior to deductions for taxes, and insurance, medical or other benefits.

The median income for the Spanish surnamed family in the Spanish tracts is $2,446.64 less than it is for others in Denver. The mean income is $1,993,23 less for Spanish-Americans. The lowest median and mean incomes for the Spanish is in Zone I, and income is greater in Zone II and greater still in Zone III. The census data also point out that only about five per cent of the Spanish-American families make $10,000 or more per annum, while 20 per cent of the rest of the population in the city of Denver has a family income in excess of $10,000 annually. On the other hand, only 14 per cent of the non-Spanish families in Denver make $3000 or less per year, while 31 per cent of the Spanish families are faced with living on such an income.[10] The low annual income of the average Spanish-American

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[10] Ibid., pp. 85-94.

TABLE 5

FAMILY INCOME: 1959[11]

	Median Income	Mean Income
Zone I	$3356.68	$3691.65
Zone II	4493.39	4720.86
Zone III	4813.93	5012.24
Spanish tracts	4049.24	4512.23
City and county of Denver less Spanish-Americans	6495.88	6505.46

family must be seen in light of the fact that these figures include total family income from all family members 14 years of age and over.

Low family income among Spanish surnamed persons leads to anticipation of the facts concerning their employment statuses. Figures in Tables 6 and 7 indicate that Spanish-Americans differ from the rest of the population in Denver in areas strategic for achieving broader societal goals. More than three times as many persons of Spanish origin, in the labor force, found themselves unemployed in 1960 than did others in the city of Denver. There is a notable drop in unemployment from Zone II to Zone III, but Zone III still has twice as many unemployed persons as is common for the non-Spanish population in Denver.

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[11] *Ibid*., pp. 85-94.

TABLE 6

EMPLOYMENT STATUS[12]

MALES 14 YEARS AND OLDER

	% in Labor Force	% Employed	% Unemployed
Zone I	66.0	88.0	12.0
Zone II	77.0	88.0	12.0
Zone III	80.0	92.0	8.0
All Spanish Tracts	74.0	89.5	10.5
City and county of Denver less Spanish Tracts	80.0	97.0	3.0

Males over 14 years of age in the Spanish tracts have 74 per cent of their members in the labor force while 80 per cent of the rest of the males over 14 years of age in Denver are in the labor force. Some of this difference may be accounted for by the comparative youth of Spanish-Americans which places more of them near the lower limit of 14 years of age. But it would seem that persons near 14 years of age would be less likely to be included in the labor force because the Bureau of the Census includes persons in the labor force only if they are actually employed or actively pursuing a job.[13]

Females of Spanish descent do not differ from their Denver counter-parts as radically as the males in regard to employment status. Table 7 points out that only 36 per cent of the females of Spanish origin over 14 years of age are in the labor force, whereas 40 per cent of other females in Denver belong to the labor force. One half of the women in the city of Denver who are not of Spanish descent and belong to the labor force have a husband present in the home, but this is true for only 36 per cent of the females of Spanish origin. For instance, females from Zone I in the Spanish tracts have 48 per cent of their members in the labor force, but only 19 per cent of these have husbands present in the home. Zone III has the lowest percentage of Spanish women in the labor force, but of

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[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 85-94.

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

TABLE 7

EMPLOYMENT STATUS[14]

FEMALES 14 YEARS AND OLDER

	% in Labor Force	% in Labor force with husband present	% in Labor force with children under 6 yrs
Zone I	48	19	7
Zone II	32	41	15
Zone III	30	56	19
All Spanish tracts	36	36	13
County and city of Denver less Spanish tracts	40	50	9

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[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 85-94.

those in the labor force from this Zone 56 per cent have husbands present in the home. Thus, although women in Zone III are less likely to work than women in Zone I, they are more likely to have a spouse in the home when they do work.

Spanish-American mothers are also more likely to be in the labor force than mothers from non-Spanish backgrounds if there are children under six years of age in the home. In Zone I, although it has the highest percentage of females in the labor force, only seven per cent of the women who work have children under six years of age in their home. More than twice as many females who work in Zones II and III have children who are six years or younger. Only nine per cent of the non-Spanish working mothers in the city of Denver have pre-school children to care for.

From the evidence presented in Table 7, it would seem that more non-Spanish females are in the labor force, have a husband in the home, and have no children under six years of age to care for. Spanish-American women are less likely to work, but when they work they are more likely to have young children to worry about and less likely to have a marital partner in the home. Other demographic data, which will be considered later, will give a more complete picture of the working world of the Spanish surnamed person in the city and county of Denver.

At this point it is possible to present a brief summary of the sociological profile which has emerged from the census data for the Spanish-American who lives in the Spanish tracts and for the rest of the population in the city and county of Denver. The summary concludes analysis of data which is presented in the census material for Spanish surnamed persons only who live in the 25 Spanish tracts.

Spanish-American males are 9.02 years younger, and females are 12.45 years younger, on the average, than other persons in Denver. Spanish males are less likely to be married than non-Spanish males, while Spanish surnamed females are more likely to be married than other females in Denver. Married Spanish males are three times as likely to be separated from their wives than other males in Denver, and Spanish females are separated four times as often as non-Spanish females. Neither Spanish males nor females are as likely to be divorced from their mates as are other males and females in Denver. Males in Denver show no difference in their likelihood to become widowers, but females who have a Spanish surname are likely to face a life of widowhood only half as often as other females in Denver.

Spanish-Americans, on the average, have less education than other persons living in Denver. Sixty-six per cent of the Spanish have eight years or less education, while this is true for only 27 per cent of the non-Spanish population. Ninety-seven per cent of the Spanish never get beyond high school, while 27 per cent of other persons in Denver experience education at the college level or beyond.

Spanish surnamed families in Denver have $2,000 a year less income, on the average, than other persons. Three times as many of the Spanish males, proportionately, face unemployment, and, although fewer Spanish females are in the labor force, those who are in it are more likely to labor under the duress of having no spouse in the home and children under six years of age to care for.

The differences between the Spanish surnamed population and others in the city and county of Denver which have been summarized indicate that the urban life of the Spanish person differs from the non-Spanish in areas which are strategic to his socio-economic well-being. However, the information is limited which relates to Spanish surnamed persons only. In order to obtain a more complete profile of the demographic character of Spanish persons in Denver, census material has been examined which does not present information specific to Spanish surnamed persons.

The preceding data compared only Spanish-Americans with the non-Spanish population. The remainder of the demographic analysis is based on the Spanish tracts, and all persons in the Spanish tracts, Spanish and non-Spanish, are compared to the rest of the population in the city and county of Denver. Analysis of variables under Labor Force Characteristics and Housing Characteristics are included here even though they are not enumerated for Spanish surnamed persons only. The results are useful and comparable because it is possible to look at the differences which exist between the population in the 25 Spanish tracts and the population in the rest of the city and county of Denver, or the remaining 72 non-Spanish tracts. The analysis is meaningful in understanding the social characteristics of the Spanish surnamed person, even though non-Spanish persons are included in the Spanish tracts, for 77 per cent of the Spanish in the city of Denver live in the 25 tracts.

The description of the Spanish surnamed person in the following discussion, then, includes an analysis of all persons living in the Spanish tracts. Thus, the description of the Spanish-American person in the following section concerns the total population of the community circumscribed by the boundaries of the 25 Spanish tracts. The Spanish tracts are again broken down into the same three Zones, based on percentage of Spanish persons to the total population as in the prior analysis. (See Table 1.)

If we look at the general employment categories, we find that persons from the Spanish tracts are more likely to be private wage and salary workers than others in Denver. The non-Spanish tract population has 5.3 per cent more of its members in government employment and 3.3 per cent more persons who are self-employed than the Spanish tracts.

TABLE 8

ALL EMPLOYED PERSONS[15]

	Private wage and salary workers %	Government Government workers %	Self-Employed %	Unpaid Family workers %
Zone I	87.6	8.6	3.2	.6
Zone II	84.5	10.0	5.2	.3
Zone III	81.5	10.8	7.2	.5
All Spanish tracts	83.0	10.3	6.3	.4
City and county of Denver less Spanish tracts	74.3	15.6	9.6	.5

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[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 65-71.

The census data give more specific labor force characteristics for persons in the city of Denver. Table 9 presents data for the occupations of employed males on a nine point occupational index. Thirty-two per cent of the employed males in Denver, excluding the Spanish tracts, are employed in professional, technical,

TABLE 9

OCCUPATIONS FOR MALES[16]

	Zone I %	Zone II %	Zone III %	All Spanish tracts %	City and county of Denver less Span. tracts %
Professional, Technical, and Kindred Workers	1.6	2.6	6.1	4.7	16.6
Managers, Officials, and Proprietors including Farmers	1.5	4.0	7.1	5.7	15.4
Clerical and Kindred Workers	4.3	6.6	8.0	7.2	10.2
Sales Workers	1.2	2.9	5.9	4.6	10.4
Craftsmen, Foremen, and Kindred Workers	14.0	17.1	22.2	20.0	16.9
Operatives and Kindred Workers	28.3	26.0	25.5	25.9	12.4
Private Household Workers	.2	.1	.1	.1	0.1
Service Workers except Private Household Workers	13.8	13.3	8.9	10.6	7.5
Laborers, except Miners	26.5	18.6	9.8	13.9	5.1
Occupations not Reported	8.6	8.8	6.4	7.3	5.4

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[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 65-71.

managerial, and related positions, whereas persons within the Spanish tracts have only 10.4 per cent of their members in such occupations. If all occupations in Tables 9 and 10 from professionals to salesworkers are considered as white collar workers, then 52.6 per cent of the employed males outside of the Spanish tracts are white collar workers, while only 22.2 per cent of those in the Spanish tracts have white collar status. The most likely occupation for the Spanish-American male is that of craftsman, foreman, operative, service worker, or laborer.

The Spanish tracts also differ from other tracts in the city of Denver as far as female occupations are concerned. Table 10 demonstrates that females from the Spanish tracts are far less likely to have professional or managerial positions than other females in Denver. On the average, twice as many females from outside of the Spanish tracts have professional and managerial positions. Closer inspection reveals that less than four per cent of the persons in Zones I and II have professional or managerial positions, whereas nine per cent of the persons in Zone III have such advantage.

If female employees from professional workers through clerical workers are considered white collar workers, then persons from the Spanish tracts have 41 per cent of their working women in white collar jobs while 70 per cent of other females in Denver have such positions. Twenty-three per cent of the females from the three Zones in the Spanish tracts are service workers while only 11.3 per cent of the rest of the females in Denver are engaged in that type of occupation. Eighteen per cent of the females in the Spanish tracts

TABLE 10

OCCUPATIONS FOR FEMALES[17]

	Zone I %	Zone II %	Zone III %	All Spanish tracts %	City and county of Denver less Span. tracts %
Professional, Technical, and Kindred Workers	3.2	4.7	7.2	6.1	16.6
Managers, Officials, and Proprietors including Farmers	1.2	2.4	3.2	2.8	4.5
Clerical and Kindred Workers	12.7	18.0	32.6	26.6	41.2
Sales Workers	2.0	4.2	6.5	5.5	7.9
Craftsmen, Foremen, and Kindred Workers	1.6	1.2	1.5	1.4	1.1
Operatives and Kindred Workers	25.1	21.6	15.3	18.0	5.5
Private Household Workers	12.3	8.3	4.5	6.3	4.8
Service Workers except Private Household Workers	29.8	26.7	20.3	23.0	11.3
Laborers, except Miners	1.8	1.5	1.3	1.4	.5
Occupations not Reported	10.3	11.4	7.6	3.9	6.6

are operatives and only 5.5 per cent of other females in Denver are in that occupational category.

Employment for the average person in the Spanish tracts is different from that of the average person in the rest of Denver. Not only do 10.5 per cent of the Spanish face unemployment compared to three per cent unemployment for non-Spanish, but when persons from the Spanish tracts get jobs they are much more likely to be menial occupations in relation to the occupations of other persons in the city and county of Denver.

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[17] _Ibid_., pp. 65-71.

According to the National Opinion Research Center, the most likely occupations for the Spanish tracts are also the most unpopular. It carried out a nationwide survey of a cross section of the population and developed popularity ratings for a list of occupations comparable to those used by the Bureau of the Census.[18] The maximum score an occupation could receive was 100, and the minimum score was 20. Table 11 gives some insight into the nationwide popularity of

TABLE 11

POPULARITY OF OCCUAPTIONS[19]

	All Spanish tract Laborers %	All non-Spanish tract Laborers %	Popularity Scores %
Professionals, Technical, and Kindred Workers	4.7	16.6	80.6
Managers, Officials, and Proprietors except Farmers	5.7	15.4	74.9
Clerical and Sales Workers	11.8	20.6	68.2
Craftsmen, Farmers, and Kindred Workers	20.0	16.9	68.0
Operatives and Kindred Workers	25.9	12.4	52.8
Service Workers	10.6	7.5	46.7
Laborers	13.9	5.1	45.8

Note: National Opinion Research Center's occupational scale does not include farmers with proprietors, managers and officials, as the Census data does; it also groups salesworkers with clerical workers, but otherwise is comparable.

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[18] National Opinion Research Center, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," Class, Status and Power, Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Lipset, Eds. (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1953), pp. 411-426.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 414.

the jobs persons from the Spanish tracts are most likely to hold.

Further differences in employment are visible when the type of industrial occupations of individuals is considered. Table 12 presents some insight into the differences between the population in the 25 Spanish tracts and the population in the remaining 72 tracts in the city of Denver.

Thirty per cent of the employed persons in the Spanish tracts are employed in construction or manufacturing, while only 21.6 per cent of the rest of the population are employed in these industries. Greater percentages of persons from the Spanish tracts earn their living working for the railroads, railway express, other transportation facilities, eating and drinking establishments, or are involved in providing personal services than is true for persons in the rest of Denver. A larger percentage of persons outside of the Spanish tracts are employed by community utilities and sanitation, hospitals, educational services, professional and related activities and public institutions.

For both the Spanish and non-Spanish tracts the highest percentages of persons work in manufacturing, but within manufacturing one again sees differences between the populations under concern. Persons from the Spanish tracts, on a percentage basis, are twice as likely to work for industries producing textiles and apparel as the non-Spanish. The percentage of persons which Spanish tracts have in food and kindred industries is almost double that of the rest of the population, and the Spanish are also more likely to work in industries dealing with other durable products The non-Spanish

TABLE 12

INDUSTRY OF EMPLOYED[20]

	Zone I %	Zone II %	Zone III %	All Spanish tracts %	City and county of Denver less Span. tracts %
1. Mining	0	.2	.4	.3	1.0
2. Construction	8.3	6.2	7.6	7.3	4.8
3. Manufacturing	26.0	22.5	22.3	22.7	16.8
a. Furniture, Lumber, Woodwork	7.8	4.6	2.8	3.8	2.5
b. Metal Industries	19.8	13.1	18.8	17.3	20.6
c. Machinery	5.9	11.2	9.3	9.4	12.0
d. Transportation Equip.	3.4	1.9	2.5	2.5	2.7
e. Other Durables	14.4	9.4	9.3	9.9	7.7
f. Food & Kindred Serv.	28.0	34.2	22.7	26.4	14.9
g. Textile and Apparel	7.9	5.8	5.3	5.8	3.2
h. Printing, Publishing & Allied Industries	4.8	4.3	7.4	6.3	13.0
i. Other nondurables	8.0	15.5	21.9	18.6	23.4
4. Railroad and Railway Express	2.2	2.5	2.4	2.4	1.8
5. Other Transportation	2.1	3.6	4.5	4.0	3.1
6. Community Utilities and Sanitation	1.8	1.9	2.7	2.4	3.2
7. Wholesale Trade	5.7	5.2	4.9	5.1	5.5
8. Eating & Drinking Places	7.2	5.5	4.5	5.0	2.8
9. Other Retail Trade	7.5	9.9	13.6	12.0	13.4
10. Business & Repair Serv.	2.9	3.6	3.6	3.6	3.1
11. Private Household Work	4.1	3.3	1.8	2.4	2.1
12. Other Personal Services	7.3	7.3	4.9	5.8	3.6
13. Hospitals	3.6	4.4	3.1	3.5	4.3
14. Educational Services	1.5	2.3	3.1	2.7	5.9
15. Other Professional and Related Activities	2.8	1.8	3.1	2.7	6.1
16. Public Administration	4.4	6.0	5.9	5.8	8.3
17. Other Industries	12.6	13.8	11.6	12.3	14.2

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[20] U. S. Bureau of the Census, PHC(1)-38, pp. 65-71.

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tracts, on the other hand, have twice as many persons in publishing, printing, and allied services, and they have greater percentages of their labor force working with machinery, metal, and non-durable products.

Other aspects of work are the distance which people live from their place of employment and the means they use to get to the job. Tables 13 and 14 give information in these areas. Most people living in the city and county of Denver also work there. From the Spanish tracts, 91.3 per cent of the persons work inside the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area of Denver, while 92.9 per cent of employed persons from the non-Spanish tracts in the city of Denver work there. The differences in location of employment which exist between the Spanish and non-Spanish tracts are minor.

TABLE 13

PLACE OF WORK[21]

	Zone I %	Zone II %	Zone III %	All Spanish tracts %	City and county of Denver less Span. tracts %
NOT REPORTED	8.2	8.5	7.0	7.5	5.7
OUTSIDE SMSA	1.1	1.0	1.2	1.2	1.4
INSIDE SMSA	90.7	90.5	91.8	91.3	92.9
Denver City & County	93.6	94.8	89.2	91.2	90.6
Adams County	2.6	1.9	2.1	2.1	1.7
Arapahoe County	2.0	1.2	3.6	2.8	3.9
Boulder County	.2	.1	.3	.2	.2
Jefferson County	1.6	2.0	4.8	3.7	3.6

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[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 65-71.

Although distance from work does not seem to indicate a significant difference between the populations, the means of arriving on the job differentiate the two groups. Zone I has only 49.2 per cent of its employed persons going to the job in a private auto or by means of a car pool. Zone II has 57.7 per cent of its members using autos, and Zone III has 69.8 per cent of its labor force travelling to work in an auto. Zones I and II have 20.8 per cent and 10.8 percent, respectively, of their members walking to work, and these persons are also most likely to use public transportation. The differences in distance from one's place of employment does not account his means of getting to work. Persons in Zones I and II, representing the

TABLE 14

TRANSPORTATION TO WORK[22]

	Zone I %	Zone II %	Zone III %	All Spanish tracts %	City and county of Denver less Span. tracts %
Private Auto or Car Pool	49.2	57.7	69.8	63.7	67.8
Railroad	0	0	.1	0	.1
Bus	18.8	19.6	13.4	16.5	13.8
Walk	20.8	10.8	6.3	8.9	8.8
Other Means	.9	2.0	1.9	1.8	1.7
Work at Home	1.8	1.3	2.0	1.8	2.5
Not Reported	8.5	8.6	6.5	7.3	5.3

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[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 65-71.

areas with the highest percentage of Spanish surnamed persons, are least likely to use private autos or car pools as a means of going to work. They also have the lowest incomes and the occupations with the lowest status.

It is possible to draw a more composite picture of the social character of Spanish-Americans in Denver on the basis of the foregoing information on labor. We can conclude that the Spanish surnamed person lives in an area which is most likely to have its labor force engaged in private wage or salary work, and less likely to be self employed or in civil service. The average worker from the Spanish tracts is much less likely to be a white collar worker, and he is more likely to be employed in positions which have low status in the community.

The tables in the census tracts which present information on occupancy and structural characteristics of housing units enable one to differentiate more precisely between the Spanish-American and others living in the city of Denver. In considering housing characteristics it is again necessary to present information from the 25 Spanish tracts for the total population in the tracts, and not exclusively for Spanish surnamed persons. But the data for these tracts present a picture of the social world in which 77 per cent of the Spanish-Americans in Denver live.

Table 15 shows that persons in the Spanish tracts are less likely to own their homes and are more likely to live in rental units. In Zone I only 19.5 per cent of the people own their own homes as compared to 53.6 per cent ownership of homes in tracts outside of the

TABLE 15

HOUSING: TENURE AND VACANCY[23]

	Zone I %	Zone II %	Zone III %	All Spanish tracts %	City and county of Denver less Span. tracts %
Owner Occupied	19.5	38.1	48.8	42.0	53.6
Renter Occupied	73.8	55.8	45.9	52.3	41.7
Available Vacant	5.5	3.6	3.8	4.0	3.8
Other Vacant	1.2	2.5	1.4	1.7	.9

Spanish tracts. Overall there is 11.6 per cent less home ownership in the Spanish tract Zones I, II and III than in the other tracts in the city.

When persons in the Spanish tracts own the homes they live in, the homes are less expensive on the average than is true for homes in the rest of the city of Denver. Home owners have the least expensive homes in Zone I. The value of homes is greater in Zones II and III, but overall the homes owned by persons living in the Spanish tracts are worth $5,545.08 less than homes in the non-Spanish tracts. The median value of homes in the city of Denver, occupied by the owner, is $4,841.82 higher than it is in the tracts containing 77 per cent of the Spanish population in the city of Denver.

In the Census Report, rent is reported in terms of "gross rent;" that is, rent figures include the estimated monthly cost of

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[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 88-94.

TABLE 16

VALUE OF HOUSING: OWNER OCCUPIED[24]

	Mean Value	Median Value
Zone I	$ 7,781.96	$ 7,546.17
Zone II	8,424.36	8,093.99
Zone III	12,887.54	10,138.87
All Spanish Tracts	9,672.32	9,272.93
City and county of Denver less Spanish Tracts	15,217.40	14,114.75

utilities and fuels, so the rental figures do not vary because of differences in agreements on the inclusion of these items in the rental fee.[25] The Spanish tracts offer homes for lower rent than is the case in the rest of Denver.

Table 17 indicates the extent and direction in which rentals change in the population. The mean home rental fee for all of the

TABLE 17

HOUSING: GROSS MONTHLY RENT[26]

	Zone I	Zone II	Zone III	All Spanish tracts	City and county of Denver less Spanish tracts
Mean Rent	$49.88	61.26	71.99	64.75	83.83

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[24] Ibid., pp. 105-108.

[25] Ibid., p. 7.

[26] Ibid., pp. 105-108.

Spanish tracts is $19.08 less than for the rest of the tracts in Denver. In Zone I, where the population consists of more than 50 per cent Spanish surnamed persons, the mean rental is $11.38 less than in Zone II. Zone II persons, where 25-49 per cent of the population is Spanish, pay a mean rental which is $10.73 less than persons in Zone III. Persons in Zone III pay $11.84 less, on the average, than do persons who live outside of the Spanish tracts. Again we note a correspondence between the per cent of Spanish persons in tracts and demographic features, in this case, the economic matter of renting a home.

The census data also indicate that persons in the Spanish tracts live in homes which are crowded in comparison to other homes in Denver. The number of persons per household in the Spanish tracts is 3.33, while in the non-Spanish tracts there are 2.71 persons per household. The difference is greatest in the tracts with the highest percentage of Spanish surnamed persons. In Zone I there are 3.64 persons, in Zone II there are 3.25 persons, and in Zone III there are only 3.15 persons per household.

TABLE 18

PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD[27]

	Zone I	Zone II	Zone III	All Spanish tracts	City and county of Denver less Spanish Tracts
Persons per Household	3.64	3.25	3.15	3.33	2.71

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[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 15-21.

The actual housing situation is seen more clearly when one looks at the number of rooms per living unit. Although there are more persons per unit on the average in the Spanish tracts, homes do not have more rooms per unit. Table 19 points out that Zone I has the least rooms per household, and according to Table 18 it has the most persons per household. While only 14.22 per cent of the household units in the non-Spanish tracts of Denver have from 1-2 rooms, 20.18 per cent of the units in Zone I have 1-2 rooms. The non-Spanish population in Denver has more than four rooms for 52.62 per cent of its households, while all the Spanish tracts have four rooms for only 43.45 per cent of its units.

TABLE 19

ROOMS PER UNIT[28]

Rooms	Zone I %	Zone II %	Zone III %	All Spanish tracts %	City and county of Denver less Spanish tracts %
1-2	20.18	16.47	11.43	13.98	14.22
3-4	43.85	39.21	43.83	42.57	33.16
5-6	30.01	35.43	35.62	34.82	35.58
7-more	5.96	8.89	9.12	8.63	17.04

Table 18 tells the number of persons per household, but this Table does not include all of the population. The 1960 Census distinguished between housing units and members of group quarters. Housing units are defined as a room or group of rooms which serve as a separate living quarters, have direct access from the outside or access through a common hall, or have a kitchen or cooking equipment for exclusive use of the occupants. A group quarters, on the other hand, included institutional living quarters as well as houses or apartments in which living quarters are shared by a person in charge and five or more persons unrelated to him live with him.[29]

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[28] Ibid., pp. 88-94.

Table 20 includes both households and group quarters and indicates more clearly the number of persons living in each unit. The table shows the relative crowding which takes place in Zone I but is progressively less in Zone II and Zone III. Zone I has from 1-4 persons in 65.78 per cent of its units, Zone II has 75.24 per cent, and Zone III has 78.46 per cent, but the non-Spanish tracts have a maximum of four persons in a unit in 84.93 per cent of their units.

TABLE 20

PERSONS PER UNIT[30]

Persons	Zone I %	Zone II %	Zone III %	All Spanish tracts %	City and county of Denver less Spanish tracts %
1-2	40.56	48.12	47.46	46.73	54.31
3-4	25.22	27.12	31.36	29.39	30.62
5 or more	34.22	24.76	21.18	23.88	15.07

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[29] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 89-94.

The census data also present information on the number of persons per room. Table 21 further establishes the fact that the areas in which the Spanish surnamed person is most likely to live are the most crowded. The relative crowding becomes apparent here, for only 5.53 per cent of the non-Spanish tracts in Denver have more than one person per room, and the Spanish tracts have 17.30 per cent of their population in such crowded conditions. Zone I is the most crowded, for 30.34 per cent of the units have one or more persons for each room.

TABLE 21

PERSONS PER ROOM[31]

Persons per Room	Zone I %	Zone II %	Zone III %	All Spanish tracts %	City and county of Denver less Spanish tracts %
Less-.50	27.13	38.99	40.81	38.51	49.44
.51-.75	14.70	17.08	21.49	19.39	22.74
.76-1.00	27.83	24.66	24.19	24.80	22.29
1.01-more	30.34	19.27	13.51	17.30	5.53

There is also a notable difference in the conditions of housing between the Spanish and non-Spanish tracts. The census material classified houses as sound, deteriorating or dilapidated. Sound housing is that which needs only routine maintenance to remove all defects. Deteriorating houses are those which need major repairs in order to make the house a safe and adequate dwelling. Dilapidated houses are those which do not provide safe or adequate shelter.[32]

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[31] _Ibid._, pp. 39-94.

Only about 50.0 per cent of the houses in Zone I, which is made up of a population which is 50 per cent or more Spanish-American, are sound. In the city of Denver, excluding the Spanish tracts, over 90 per cent of the houses are in sound condition. The Table indicates that 25.6 per cent of the homes in the Spanish tracts are unsafe and inadequate, although many of these may be restored as proper dwellings if major repairs are undertaken without undue delay. In the non-Spanish tracts in Denver, only 8.5 per cent of the houses are in deteriorating or dilapidated condition.

TABLE 22

HOUSING UNITS: CONDITION[33]

Condition	Zone I %	Zone II %	Zone III %	All Spanish tracts %	City and county of Denver less Spanish tracts %
Sound	53.2	69.9	81.3	74.4	91.5
Deteriorating	38.0	26.3	15.0	21.2	7.7
Dilapidated	8.8	3.8	3.7	4.4	.8

Adequate plumbing is also less likely for the dweller in the Spanish tracts in relation to the rest of the dwellers in Denver. Eighty-two and six-tenths per cent of the dwellings in Zones I, II, and III have all plumbing needs, whereas this is true for 90.6 per cent of the dwellings in the rest of the tracts in Denver. Only 70 per cent of the homes in Zone I have adequate plumbing.

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[32] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 88-94.

TABLE 23

HOUSING UNITS: PLUMBING[34]

	Zone I %	Zone II %	Zone III %	All Spanish tracts %	City and county of Denver less Spanish tracts %
All Plumbing	70.0	79.6	86.8	82.6	90.6
No Hot Water	.7	.4	.3	.4	.1
Lacking other Plumbing Facilities	29.3	20.0	12.9	17.0	9.3

The category in Table 23, "lacking other plumbing facilities," means that the dwelling may lack either a flush toilet, a bath tub or shower, or hot or cold running water, or all of these as facilities for the persons in a housing unit.[35] Dwellers in Zones I and II lack "other plumbing" in 29.3 per cent and 20.1 per cent of their homes, respectively. Only 9.3 per cent in the non-Spanish tracts indicate this type of deprivation.

The differences observable between the Spanish and non-Spanish tracts in plumbing facilities are further exemplified when one looks at information concerning availability of bathrooms. Table 24 indicates that persons in Zone I and II are much more likely to share

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[34] Ibid., pp. 88-94.

[35] Ibid., p. 7.

TABLE 24

HOUSING UNITS: BATHROOMS[36]

Bathrooms	Zone I %	Zone II %	Zone III %	All Spanish tracts %	City and county of Denver less Spanish tracts %
1	74.6	78.5	82.2	80.2	72.2
More than 1	2.3	4.7	8.0	6.3	19.3
Shared or none	23.1	16.8	9.8	13.5	8.5

a bathroom or have none than are people in either Zone III or persons in the area outside of the Spanish tracts. Persons living outside of the Spanish tracts are almost three times as likely to have more than one bathroom than are persons who live in the Spanish tracts.

The Spanish tracts also bear other marks of a less affluent population. Automobile ownership is not as prevalent in the area as it is generally in the city of Denver. Table 25 shows that 32.2 per cent of the families in the Spanish tracts do not have automobiles.

TABLE 25

AUTOMOBILES AVAILABLE[37]

Automobiles	Zone I %	Zone II %	Zone III %	All Spanish tracts %	City and county of Denver less Spanish tracts %
None	51.3	38.9	24.9	32.2	19.6
1	41.0	45.8	53.7	49.9	51.2
2	6.7	12.4	18.8	15.4	25.1
3 or more	1.0	2.9	2.6	2.5	4.1

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[36] Ibid., pp. 89-94.

[37] Ibid., pp. 105-108.

Only 19.6 per cent of those outside the area have no automobile. In the Spanish tracts 15.4 per cent of the families own two automobiles, but in the rest of the city of Denver 25.1 per cent have two cars.

Thus far we have seen general population characteristics, labor force characteristics, and housing characteristics for the Spanish surnamed person in the city of Denver. Other pertinent information is available. At the end of July, 1964, the Denver Department of Welfare had a total case-load of 4,297 mothers receiving aid to dependent children. Among these ADC mothers there were 1,990 Spanish surnamed mothers receiving aid. Thus, 46.3 per cent of the ADC mothers in Denver were of Spanish descent. This is noteworthy when one recalls that Spanish surnamed persons make up only nine per cent of the population in the city of Denver. They are contributing extraordinary numbers to the welfare rolls in the category of ADC mothers. Out of the total Spanish surnamed population in Denver, 1.6 per cent of them are mothers who are receiving aid to dependent children. Spanish surnamed children make up 46.9 per cent of all children involved in the ADC program, again pointing out the disproportionate number in this area.[38]

No specific data were available for delinquent or criminal behavior for Spanish surnamed persons living in the city and county of Denver. But a report from the State of Colorado also shows disproportionate percentages of Spanish-Americans in the state penal institutions. Sixty-three per cent of the boys at Lookout Mountain School, 45 per cent of the girls at Mountview School, 49 per cent of the inmates at the Colorado State Reformatory, and 31 per cent of the inmates at the Colorado State Penitentiary are persons with a Spanish surname. These percentages are unusually high, for in Denver and in the state of Colorado approximately nine per cent of the population bear a Spanish surname.[39]

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[38] Denver Department of Welfare, "Social Characteristics of ADC Mothers, By Race, July,1964," Denver, 1965. (Mimeographed.)

The information from the Bureau of the Census which has been reviewed gives a picture of the Spanish surnamed person who lives in Denver. There is additional information from the Denver Department of Welfare, and from reports on penal institutions. The data indicate that Spanish-Americans are disadvantaged in the urban milieu.

In summary, the Spanish-American in Denver city and county belongs to a population which has comparative youth in relation to the non-Spanish population in Denver. Spanish males over 14 years of age are less likely to be married than are other males in Denver, but females with a Spanish surname over 14 years of age are more likely to be married. Spanish surnamed persons who are married are much more likely to have their marriage beset with separation, but less likely to face divorce or widowhood.

The person of Spanish origin in Denver has less education, and has to live on an average of $2,000 a year less than other persons in Denver. The Spanish male is three times as likely to face unemployment than other males, while the female, who is less likely to work than other females, is more likely to have small children and no husband in the home when she is employed.

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[39] Latin American Research and Service Agency, "United Fund Proposal," Denver, 1964. (Mimeographed.) P. 23.

The remainder of the findings relate to the total population in an area including 25 census tracts. Seventy-seven per cent of the Spanish persons in Denver live within the 25 tracts. On this basis we have found that the Spanish-American lives among a population which is more likely to be engaged in private wage or salary work and less likely than others outside of the population to be self employed or in civil service. They are much less likely to be white collar workers and are most often employed in jobs which have low status in the eyes of society. Although they are less likely to ride to work in an auto than people outside of the Spanish tracts and more likely to take a bus or walk to work, the census data do not indicate that they live in closer proximity to their place of work.

Persons who live in the boundaries of the 25 tracts also differ in relation to their housing characteristics. They are more likely to rent than own the home they live in. When they do own the home they live in, it is less expensive than homes outside of the area. They also pay less rent when they live in rental units than do people who live outside of the Spanish tracts. They live in homes which have more persons per household, fewer rooms per dwelling unit, more persons per living unit, and more persons per room. Over 25 per cent of their homes, or three times as many of their homes as homes outside of the area, are in deteriorating or dilapidated condition. They live in homes which are less likely to provide complete plumbing facilities, and they are more likely to share or have no bathroom. They also live in a population area where about one-third of the families do not own an automobile, while only 19.6 per cent of the rest of the families in Denver have no automobile. They are much more often dependent economically on the city, indicating adjustment problems relative to producing a livelihood for themselves in the city. They are also more likely to be jailed for delinquent and criminal behavior, which, among other possible reasons such as stricter surveillance, may indicate their relative failure to mesh life with the formal legal expectations of modern society.

The lengthy analysis of the social characteristics of Spanish surnamed persons indicates that they differ from the non-Spanish population in Denver. Indicators of disadvantage and disorganization include the high amount of family breakdowns due to separation, low annual income, the greater likelihood that the employed female has small children and no father figure in the home, low status jobs, comparative inadequate housing and crowded living conditions, dependence on welfare support, and a high rate of criminal activity. Thus, in a sense, Wirth's conclusions about urban life are substantiated, but only in relation to a specific ethnic minority.

The apparent conclusion seems to be that if the Spanish surnamed minority could make an adaptation to urban life which equalled that of the non-Spanish persons in Denver, they would experience drastic reductions in social disorganization within their group. The interest then lies in examining the processes at work which will eventually close the cultural gap which isolates the Spanish-American from "normal" participation in urban living.

CHAPTER III

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Chapter I presented studies of the Spanish-American culture and gave some of the differences between the cultural backgrounds of the Spanish surnamed and the non-Spanish surnamed. The demographic analysis in Chapter II indicated that persons of Spanish descent in the city and county of Denver are socioeconomically deprived in comparison to non-Spanish persons. This chapter introduces the general concept of acculturation and presents the concept of systemic linkage as a specific aspect of the acculturation process. The idea of systemic linkage is applied to persons who attempt to help the Spanish-Americans who have problems adjusting to urban society. An ideal model of a helper system for non-acculturated Spanish Americans is also developed.

The behavioral sciences have a history of interest in the problems that ensue when two diverse cultures come into contact with each other. The more specific interest in the process of acculturation developed in studies concerned with these problems. Real impetus was given to acculturation studies by the need to solve immediate problems which attended the conflicts resulting from new contacts between different cultures. Ralph Beals said, "The beginnings of interest in contact situations in Great Britain, France, and Holland coincided with the rise of a new sense of responsibility toward colonial peoples, while in the United States the great development of acculturation studies coincided with the depression era and its accompanying widespread concern with social problems. External forces, then, may well have played an important part in the rise of acculturation studies."[1]

One of the most popular definitions of acculturation indicates that the primary interest in this area of study is in the assessment of the processes which result from different cultures coming into contact with one another. Herskovits presented the definition: "Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural pattern of either or both groups."[2]

The Spanish-American's appearance on the urban scene creates the type of "first-hand contact" to which Herskovits referred. The desirable situation, in studying the process of acculturation involving the Spanish surnamed, would be one in which every aspect of both cultures could be studied in order that all information strategic to the total acculturation process could be analyzed simultaneously. But as Beals said, "In point of fact, however, no one has yet demonstrated a method by which cultures may be studied in their entirety."[3]

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[1] Ralph Beals, "Acculturation," Anthropology Today, ed. Alfred L. Kroeber (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), p. 622.

[2] Melville J. Herskovits. Man and His Works (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948), p. 523.

[3] Beals, Anthropology Today, p. 634.

Because there is no method available for studying total cultures in transition, it is necessary to isolate specific aspects of the acculturation process and examine them in detail. This study focuses on those persons who, through their relationships to the minority group, attempt to facilitate the adjustment of the Spanish surnamed person to the urban milieu. The conception of such facilitating persons finds its roots in several basic assumptions which must be delineated.

First of all, Denver presents a situation in which two diverse cultures have been in contact to some extent since the birth of the city. It is assumed that the significant fact about the present contact between the cultures is the recent, substantial increase in numbers of the ethnic minority, the presence of the rapidly increasing minority in a highly visible, low socio-economic strata in the urban social order, and increasing beliefs or awareness on part of the minority group members that there are built-in elements in the dominant Anglo culture which systematically exclude the ethnic minority from a more adequate participation in urban society.

It is also assumed that the ethnic minority is not completely outside of the dominant cultural system, but that at various levels members of the minority participate in the socio-economic system of the Anglos. There are persons of Spanish descent who have been integrated into the Anglo system but at the same time are concerned with easing the problems which the person of Spanish descent, who is less acculturated, encounters in the urban community. It is these persons, similar to Merton's "cosmopolitans," who are in the position to facilitate the adjustment of the Spanish surnamed to the Anglo-urban culture.[4] The effort to assist fellow-members of an ethnic minority takes on some kind of order which can be delineated and described.

This paper describes the inter-relations and functions of those persons, oriented towards the subordinate culture,who help Spanish-Americans in the process of adapting to a new cultural system. The helpers may be looked upon as leaders, for they have relative access to the Anglo system, holding linkage positions which enable them to further the acculturation of minority group members to the urban culture.

Loomis and his associates first used the concept of "systemic linkage" to describe the process of convergence between two or more social systems.[5] Loomis defined the concept as follows: "Systemic linkage may be defined as the process whereby one or more of the elements of at least two social systems is articulated in such a manner that the two systems in some ways and on some occasions may be viewed as a single unit."[6]

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[4] Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 393-395.

[5] Charles P. Loomis, "Systemic Linkage of El Cerrito," Rural Sociology, 24 (1959), p. 54.

[6] Charles P. Loomis, Social Systems (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1960), p. 32.

As Loomis points out, the notion of systemic linkage assumes that it is useful to look at societal processes in terms of Parsons' theory of action. Parson's model uses the analytical tool of system levels to describe social structure and social action. They include the personality system, the social system, and the cultural system.[7] Later Parsons added a fourth system, the biological system.[8] The concern here is with the cultural and the social system levels. The cultural system is not an action system but a system of symbolic meaning patterns which are internalized into personalities and institutionalized in social systems. It is the cultural system which imposes patterns of consistency on personalities and social systems. The cultural system is the system of normative orientation.[9] The social system is defined by Parsons who says, "...a social system is a mode of organization of action elements relative to the persistence or ordered processes of change of the interactive patterns of a plurality of individual actors."[10]

For analytical purposes, the Anglo-urban culture and the Spanish-American culture are conceived of as two normative systems, and the Anglo and Spanish surnamed systems in action are two social systems. The cultural systems impose consistent patterns of behavior on the social systems, and normative culture systems operate as boundary maintaining devices between the two social systems.

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[7] Talcott Parsons, The Social System (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951), p. 6.

[8] Talcott Parsons, "An Approach to Psychological Theory in Terms of the Theory of Action," Psychology: A Study of a Science, ed. Sigmund Koch (New York: McGraw-Hill Company Inc., 1959), p. 615.

[9] Parsons, The Social..., pp. 10-11.

[10] Ibid., p. 24.

It is at this point that the concept of systemic linkage enters, for Loomis said, "Whereas the process of boundary maintenance refers to the limits set upon intergroup contact the process of systemic linkage refers to the organizational arrangements for group interdependencies."[11] As an example Loomis used the family and the school system. The family provides a specific orientation for the child, while the school frees the child from family ties and prepares him for adult life. The child becomes a link between the two systems, for he operates in both.[12] Loomis perceived both boundary maintenance and systemic linkage as necessary elements in society. "Without boundary maintenance, social groups would be indistinguishable among a mass of individuals and interaction would be haphazard; without systemic linkage an unthinkable parochialism would deny to groups any form of contact outside of their own boundaries."[13]

In relation to the Spanish-Americans in the urban center, the systemic linkages are those elements, in our case persons, who have ties in both the Spanish and Anglo cultural systems. They hold positions similar to the linkage persons Hanson described in his study of hospital-community relations; that is, they have obligations to two different systems.[14] It can then be concluded, as Hanson did, that "In this case, the position itself is viewed as the nexus or link between two systems."[15]

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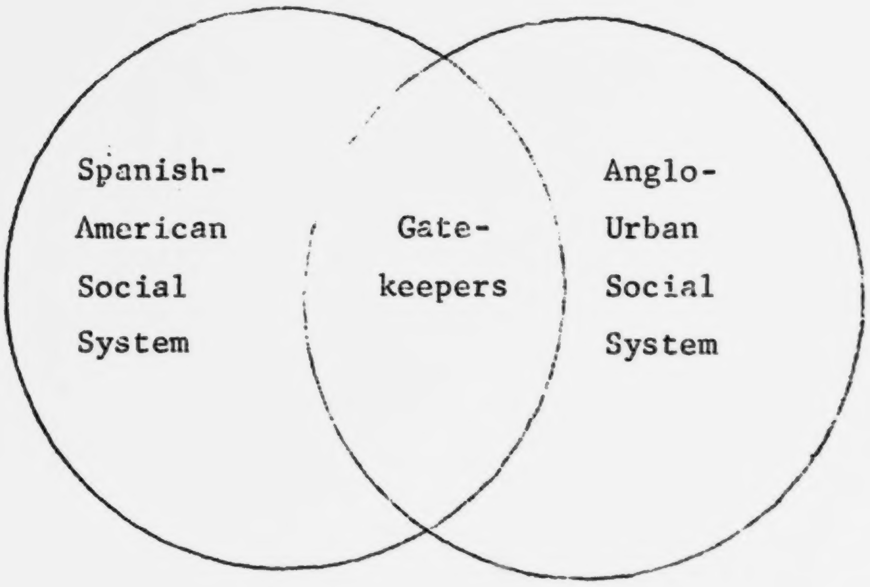
[11] Loomis, Social Systems, pp. 32-33.

[12] Charles P. Loomis. Modern Social Theories (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1961), p. 417.

[13] Loomis, Social Systems, p. 33.

The persons holding such linkage positions are referred to in this study as gatekeepers, and their involvement as links is called gatekeeping activity. Gatekeepers, in more practical terms than the foregoing theoretical description, are individuals who have relatively ready access to information and facilities in the community, and who are relatively accessible to persons who need links to information and facilities. The gatekeepers are transmitters between the Anglo culture and the culture of the Spanish surnamed population in the city. Figure I further illustrates the relationship of the gatekeepers to the two systems.

Figure I. Systemic Linkage



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[14] Robert C. Hanson, "The Systemic Linkage Hypothesis and Role Consensus Patterns in Hospital-Community Relations," American Sociological Review, 27 (1962), pp. 304-313.

[15] Ibid., p. 305.

The notion of gatekeeping is not original here but is similar to an idea developed by Vidich and Bensman in Small Town in Mass Society.[16] They identified persons as gatekeepers who "are specifically qualified, accessible and available as transmitters of specific organizational and cultural contacts and contents."[17] They spoke of the gatekeeper as a connector between the small town and mass bureaucratic society.

They pointed out, for instance, that the small town professionals, such as lawyers, ministers, doctors, teachers, and engineers, are unique because they not only understand the complex mass society outside of the small town but have contacts with various agencies and institutions in mass society which are needed by the small town. The cosmopolitan gatekeeper in the small town is evaluated on different standards than other members of small town society, for his social position is not so much due to his participation in small town affairs, but it is dependent on his role as a connector to relatively inaccessible, but needed, elements of mass society. The authors felt that the type of gatekeeping an individual could carry on, that is, the quality, amount, and content of service he could provide, was dependent on his contacts with outside society as well as his contacts in the small town society.[18]

Although Vidich and Bensman discussed the concept of gatekeeping, they made no apparent attempt to operationalize the concept or to systematically explain the ramifications of the gatekeeping system for small town society. An attempt will be made here to apply the concept of gatekeeper as an analytic tool in a specific context. The primary concern is to isolate the gatekeeping system, examine its structural components, and look at the actual functions which the system performs that are directed toward helping persons of Spanish descent adjust to the Anglo community.

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[16] Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, Small Town in Mass Society (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1960), pp. 88-99.

[17] Ibid., p. 88.

[18] Ibid., pp. 88-91.

Study of a gatekeeping system is similar in some aspects to sociological studies of community power structures and organized decision-making. Form and Miller, for instance, defined community power as "the network of influences among persons and organizations involved in community issues or projects."[19] They listed a number of observable, concrete acts which they believed were manifestations of community power. Included in the list were activities such as persuading groups or persons to take a particular position, give financial support, assume leadership roles, write letters or send telegrams, get officials to use their influence and power, link efforts of two or more organizations, and get key people to play special roles as mediators and arbitrators.[20]

Form and Miller's definition and description of community power is also descriptive of what is involved in the notion of a gatekeeping system. The key difference in this study is that gatekeeping activity does not depend on community issue or project development. The gatekeeping system describes the social unit within the urban community which operates as a connector system between the minority group of Spanish surnamed persons and the dominant Anglo community.

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[19] William H. Form and Delbert C. Miller, Industry, Labor, and Community (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960), p. 434.

[20] Ibid., pp. 434-435.

In the study of the gatekeeping system in Denver, it was assumed that investigation of the structure of the system would yield useful information in regard to its place and operation in the community. Hunter, for instance, postulated that the "power of the individual must be structured into associational, clique, or institutional patterns to be effective."[21] Gatekeeping is more informal than the community decision-making which Hunter was referring to, for no institution in the community is assigned the formal role of assisting Spanish-Americans in the process of acculturation, and the most formal representation of such activity is through voluntary organizations in the community.

Nevertheless, it is assumed that gatekeeping does take place within an organized system. Different kinds of help require different kinds of knowledge and resources. A single gatekeeper is not likely to have personal access to more than a few types of resources for help, so the effective gatekeeper must operate with other gatekeepers and institutions in order to gain access to a wider array of resources.

Analysis of the structural components of the gatekeeping system should also advance the understanding of the gatekeeping functions. Merton's statement in regard to the Chiricahua puberty ceremonial for girls supports the notion. He said, "As we shall see in due course, although it bears stating at this point, the _sheer description_ of the ceremony in terms of the statuses and group affiliations of those variously involved _provides a major clue to the functions_ performed by the ceremonial."[22]

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[21] Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), p. 248.

The reader should not conclude, however, that the research design was aimed at isolating a specific, presumed type of gatekeeping system. For "...once we abandon the gratuitous assumption of the functional indispensibility of particular social structures, we immediately require some concept of functional alternatives, equivalents, or substitutes."[23] So gatekeeping is seen as an activity which can take place in various types of structured relationships. Gatekeeping may be represented by a well-integrated structural system or by a series of social cliques which have only loose structural ties. Small gatekeeping cliques may operate in isolation from each other. Examples of individual gatekeepers, who do not exhibit systematic relationships with other gatekeepers, are also described in the study. They are able to carry on gatekeeping activities because of special circumstances which will be discussed.

The notion of a gatekeeping system, however, is intended to convey the idea that in relation to rather informal activity, that is, individuals acting as connectors between the Anglo and Spanish groups without formal arrangements on the part of either group for such activity, a structured set of relationships develops. The systemic relations arise because the functions of gatekeepers tend to demand broader resources than most individuals possess.

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[22] Merton, _Social Theory_ ..., p. 56.

[23] _Ibid_., p. 52.

The process of acculturation refers to the changes which take place when groups with different cultural backgrounds come into continuous contact with each other. More specifically, the process of acculturation alludes to changes which take place in the lives of individuals with different cultural backgrounds who come into continuous association with one another. In the case of the Spanish-American, acculturation is the process of change which takes place in the life of an individual who originates from the rural Spanish culture and who is surrounded by the Anglo urban culture.

The social life of any one individual is tremendously complex. In order to deal meaningfully with the process of acculturation, it is useful to think of the life of an individual as consisting of role contexts in which he carries on daily activity.[24] The idea of "role contexts" has similarities to Shibutani's idea of social worlds. He used the term "social worlds" to describe the multitudes of subcommunities which develop around specific interests and perspectives in society. Some of the worlds he discusses are the underworld, the economic world, the world of the theater, organized labor, religious denominations, and the world of the stamp collector. Each social world develops its own vocabulary, uses special symbols, and categorizes experiences in particular ways.[25] He says, "Each social world, then, is a culture area, the boundaries of which are set neither by territory nor by formal group membership, but by the limits of effective communication."[26]

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[24] The use of role contexts in this study was suggested by Ozzie G. Simmons, Robert C. Hanson and Jules J. Wanderer in "Urbanization of the Migrant: Processes and Outcomes," Boulder: The University of Colorado, 1964. (Mimeographed.) pp. 17-20.

Role contexts in the lives of individuals are also social worlds. Each role in which the individual participates has its own particular vocabulary, its own set of symbols, its own interpretation of what is meaningful, and its own evaluation of experiences. The role contexts which are presented here are the roles which are assumed to be meaningful in the study of processes of acculturation.

The nine role contexts which are used in this study are the worker role, the dweller role, the church member role, the manager role, the patient role, the welfare client role (emergency aid to dependent families), the organization member role, the legal role, and the mass media consumer role. The roles are not perceived to be unique to the Anglo culture. They are roles in which persons of both the Anglo urban and the rural Spanish cultures participate. The disjunctions between the two cultures are not due to differences in types of roles in which activity is carried on, but the conflict is located within the role contexts. The person of Spanish descent has sets of expectations in role contexts which are not in keeping with Anglo expectations. For example, the world of work in the urban Anglo setting has a different set of expectations and shared responses than the world of work in the rural Spanish culture.

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[25] Tamotsu Shibutani, Society and Personality (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1961), pp. 129-134.

[26] Ibid., p. 130.

The gatekeeper is the link between the members of the Spanish culture and the Anglo role expectations. He is the one who introduces the Spanish-American to social contexts in which the Spanish person can learn the expected and shared responses of roles in the Anglo community.

An ideal model of a gatekeeping system will further reveal the theoretical ideas which have been discussed. The development of the ideal model is an answer to the question: How would one organize a formal gatekeeping system which is designed to further the adjustment of a recent rural, ethnic minority to a modern urban community? The model which is presented is an ideal representation of the structural components of a gatekeeping system, and it represents what one would anticipate in an attempt to formalize the on-going, highly informal linkage system which is presently in operation. It must be noted that the model is not based on a careful empirical evaluation of the way in which gatekeeping system should operate, but it is an ideal model to which the research data can be compared. The statement which Homans made in regard to the classification scheme which he used in The Human Group might well be applied to the model which is presented here: "It is not the last word but the first."[27]

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[27] George C. Homans, The Human Group (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1950), p. 44.

The first essential element for a gatekeeping system is a group of community resources which can provide opportunities for the Spanish surnamed to participate in the role worlds of the Anglo community. The Spanish-American must be involved in the urban roles in order to learn the particular expectations which characterize the roles in the Anglo community.

Gatekeepers need sources for employment to provide the Spanish-American with opportunities to learn the Anglo role of worker. Closely related to employment are resources which can provide people with education and training to re-equip them as employees in the urban community. Families also need dwellings to live in, and, more specifically, they need residences which meet their particular needs and means. Gatekeepers need resources which enable them to help the Spanish surnamed in the dweller role.

Gatekeepers, who are willing to help persons experiencing adjustment problems in the urban area, also need access to resources for the economic concerns of modern life. They need channels through which they can introduce Spanish persons to scrupulous lending agencies and banking facilities. An important aspect of urban living is wise economic management which includes the use of savings plans, checking accounts, and installment buying. The role of economic management in the rural village was not dependent on this type of material resource organization. Gatekeepers also need sources to which they can refer persons who are interested in buying and selling various articles such as clothing, furniture, appliances, food, and automobiles. The Spanish person's unfamiliarity with the Anglo role of buying leaves him unprotected from the economically disastrous assaults of avaricious merchants and salesmen.

Gatekeepers should have contacts with religious facilities so the gatekeepers can help persons learn the urban religious role. In addition they need links to resources which can provide for persons who are unable to support themselves in the community and must rely on urban programs and agencies which are designed to assist indigent persons. Contacts with medical facilities are needed to aid persons who are suffering from illness. The urban patient role assumes that the participants understand the use of appointments, the rituals of a waiting room in a doctor's office or the admissions office of a hospital, and the financial planning which is necessary for medical care. The Spanish surnamed person is often unaware of these practices, and his first experience as an urban patient may be frightening. He needs a gatekeeper who can lead him into the role of an urban patient in an atmosphere of understanding and consideration.

Organizational ties play a key role in urban life, and, if Irwin Sanders' observations are correct, organizations are significant in integrating persons into modern community life.[28] "New groups arise," Sanders says, "as the life of the community becomes more specialized and additional groups develop for the purpose of tying together into some sort of coordinated fashion the new groups of a highly specialized sort."[29] He concluded that "... groups do become tied together in widespread interrelated social networks which in turn are a part of the age old institutions which have been satisfying in various ways the familial, economic, religious, education, and political needs of man."[30] Thus, gatekeepers need resources which enable them to lead persons into organizations where they can find satisfaction for needs which are no longer met by traditional rural institutions.

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[28] Irwin T. Sanders, The Community (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1958), pp. 186-200.

[29] Ibid., p. 196.

Other resources necessary for gatekeeping include legal facilities to assist those of Spanish descent who find themselves entangled in the maze of formal rules and requirements which are a part of the urban community. The gatekeeper should also have access to the arms of the mass media, not only to assist minority members in using the media, but also to enable them to use the influence of the media to further their own interests in the city.

The preceding summary includes those resources which are necessary for the gatekeepers to be effective. The availability of these resources would enable the gatekeepers to bring the Spanish-American into social situations which would promote learning of Anglo urban life roles.

The second element which is necessary for a gatekeeping system is the gatekeepers themselves. Gatekeeping is informal in its most formal state. It is engaged in by persons who come into contact with minority members during the ordinary activities of the day. Gatekeeping takes place when persons become aware of Spanish-Americans who cannot cope with urban demands and when these persons seek to help the Spanish surnamed. Therefore, at least theoretically, gatekeeping is not limited to any particular social, economic, or occupational group. In the empirical situation effective gatekeepers may very likely be those who are in strategic occupational positions or in social contacts which bring them in touch with the minority as well as with community resources. In the ideal gatekeeping system potential gatekeepers are all those who come into contact with the Spanish surnamed as a result of their routine round of daily activities, but they are not solely those who are personally cognizant of the available community facilities which can alleviate the stresses of the minority members.

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[30] _Ibid._, p. 196.

Gatekeepers in the ideal system include persons in key occupational situations, such as employers and foremen, owners of homes for rent and real estate personnel, local proprietors of stores, bars, and places of recreation, finance agents, and banking personnel. The include religious leaders, persons dealing with indigent families, medical personnel who deal with the family in time of illness, and organizational members and leaders. Gatekeepers can be found in the professional legal roles, such as attorneys, police officers, probation and parole officials, and court personnel. It is perhaps evident that in the ideal gatekeeping system all persons who deal with the family of Spanish descent are potential gatekeepers. It is not presumed that each gatekeeper helps persons in every role which has been cited, but each gatekeeper interacts, voluntarily or involuntarily, with persons in one or more of the roles which have been described.

The problem in the gatekeeping process is that Spanish surnamed persons who have adjustment problems generally have personal contact with only a few persons who are in linkage positions. Furthermore, the linkage persons they are in contact with are usually limited in the number of different resources to which they have access. So even if a minority member comes into contact with a person who is willing to carry on gatekeeping, there is the likelihood that the gatekeeper can be helpful in only a limited number of the role contexts in which the Spanish person may have problems.

For example, a family may have a personal relationship with a local parish priest. In the priest's association with the family in the religious role, he may become aware of problems in other role contexts which are placing the family under great strain. The priest may discover that the father is unemployed and that the mother is in need of medical attention. The parish priest is limited in the time and energy which he has available to develop expertise in locating employment or in understanding the rules and regulations which control eligibility for low cost medical care. The priest's gatekeeping activity may then consist of indefinite advice which does not provide sufficient guidance for a family unaware of the urban rules for effective participation in the worker and medical roles. The same would apply to a physician who, in dealing with the family, becomes aware of other needs but is too busy to become involved with the total family process.

Regardless of the intentions of persons in linkage positions, the limitations of time and the parochialism which most occupational careers entail, restrict the number of life roles in which persons can be effective as gatekeepers. The ideal system would be one in which every linkage person had sufficient knowledge and resources to respond directly to problems in every one of the role contexts. The possibility for developing such a corps of helpers, even on a formal basis, is quite remote.

An approximation to such an elite corps of gatekeepers could be created by establishing a central station for gatekeepers. The "Central Gatekeeping Station" would be similar to a telephone switchboard. A switchboard operator takes calls coming into her office and connects them to lines which lead to persons whom the caller has stipulated. The operator doesn't need information about the caller, nor does she need to know the person who is being called. She only needs to know how to connect the caller to the person he is calling. The caller, on the other hand, doesn't concern himself with the process of switching the lines from one socket to another in the switchboard. He must only know how to contact the operator. The switchboard is efficient for all parties concerned.

The Central Gatekeeping Station would play a similar role in the gatekeeping process. It would provide a relay station between individual gatekeepers and resources for every one of the role contexts. It would enable gatekeepers to introduce rurally oriented persons to the social worlds of urban roles in which the gatekeepers themselves are not expert. The Central Gatekeeping Station would have several responsibilities.

First, it would compile and maintain lists of resources. The resources would include urban facilities related to the roles in which urban dwellers participate. The facilities would include persons who specialize in particular roles. The would include professional and non-professional persons who are willing to exert effort in introducing Spanish-Americans to urban roles.

The Central Gatekeeping Station, as a storehouse of available resources, would increase the efficiency of gatekeeping, for it would free willing helpers from becoming involved as linkages in areas outside of their immediate fields of expertise. For example, the Central Gatekeeping Station would contact an attorney only to assist a Spanish surnamed person in the legal role. If that person were also in need of medical aid, the attorney would not have to concern himself with that role, for the Central Gatekeeping Station would have a resource available for persons who need help in the patient role.

Secondly, the Central Gatekeeping Station would attempt to increase its store of resource persons by contacting organizations and individuals not involved in gatekeeping and by encouraging them to participate in the help program. It is assumed that there are many untapped groups and individuals in the community who would be willing to contribute their skills to assist minority members. It would also seem that they would be more willing to help if they knew that they would not have to deal with the total life process of those in need of assistance but needed to contribute only in role contexts immediately relevant to their specialized fields of endeavor.

Thirdly, the Central Gatekeeping Station would advertise its services to persons and organizations in linkage positions. Persons who deal with the Spanish in any of the role contexts would be informed of the resources available for those who are in need. When a linkage person finds out about individual problems for which he has no solutions, he would only have to contact the Central Station, and the Central Station would relay the need for help to persons in the appropriate role contexts.

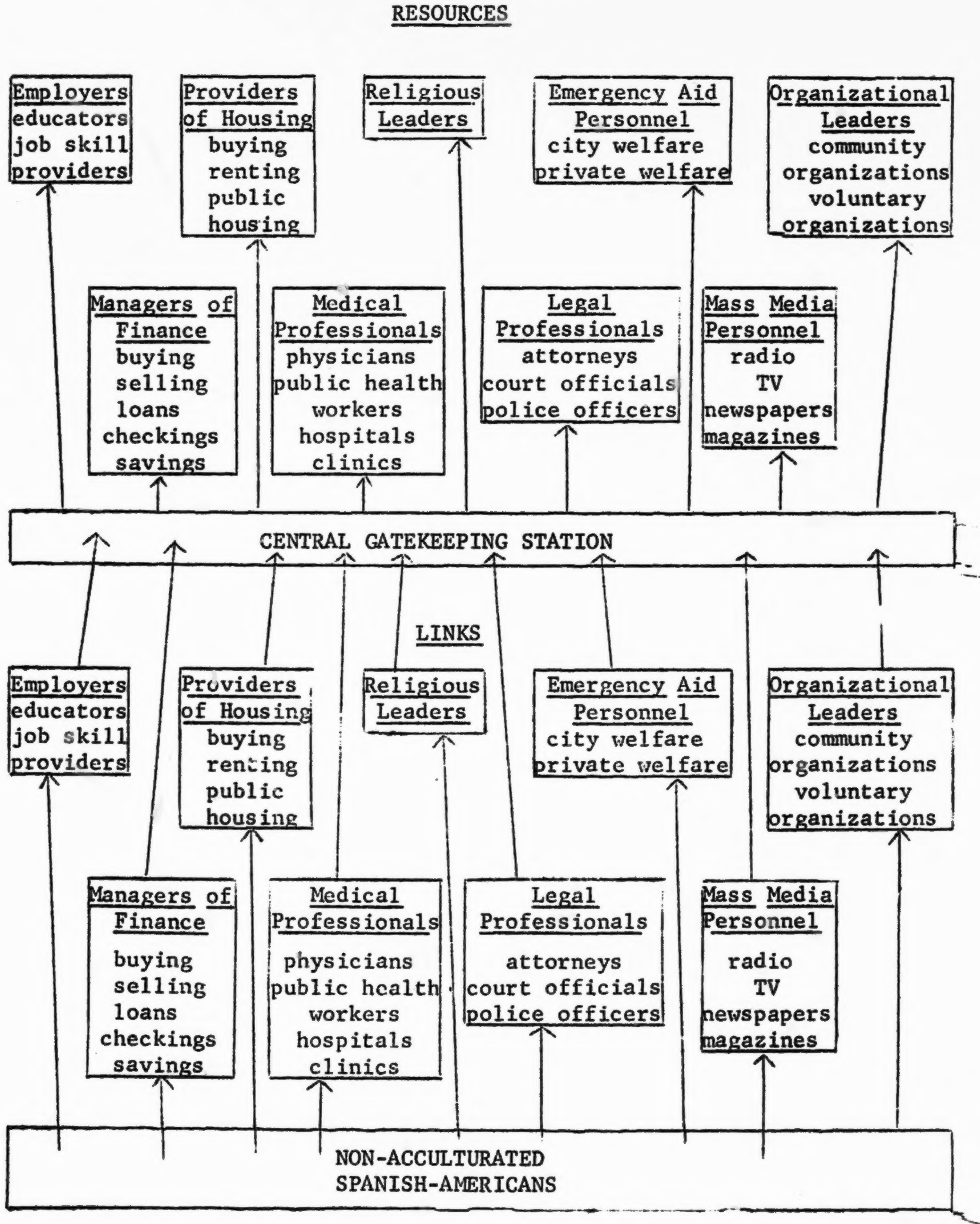
Through the Central Gatekeeping Station, each gatekeeper would have the entire series of resources available. For example, if a physician discovered that his patient was suffering from severe financial difficulties, his only responsibility would be to call the Central Station, advise them of the situation, and the Central Station would then pursue gatekeeper specialists in the manager role. The call to the Central Station would not be as complicated for the physician as the process of turning over the unpaid medical bill of the patient to a collection agency.

The success of the formalized gatekeeping program would rest heavily on creating an awareness of the Central Gatekeeping Station and its functions among individuals in linkage positions. The potential core of gatekeepers could also be increased by presenting the program to key persons in the community. For instance, neighborhood shops, restaurants, and bars would be informed of the Central Station, and, consequently, they would have a means to provide for needs they become aware of in dealing with the Spanish population. The willingness of persons to cooperate would be enhanced by the limited responsibility which would fall on their shoulders, and, in turn, they would become possible sources for help in their own specialized roles.

Figure 2 presents a diagrammatic depiction of the ideal gatekeeping system. The Spanish-American who is unfamiliar with urban

FIGURE 2

THE IDEAL GATEKEEPING SYSTEM


RESOURCES
Employers educators job skill providers
Providers of Housing buying renting public housing
Religious Leaders
Emergency Aid Personnel city welfare private welfare
Organizational Leaders community organizations voluntary organizations
Managers of Finance buying selling loans checkings savings
Medical Professionals physicians public health workers hospitals clinics
Legal Professionals attorneys court officials police officers
Mass Media Personnel radio TV newspapers magazines
CENTRAL GATEKEEPING STATION
LINKS
Employers educators job skill providers
Providers of Housing buying renting public housing
Religious Leaders
Emergency Aid Personnel city welfare private welfare
Organizational Leaders community organizations voluntary organizations
Managers of Finance buying selling loans checkings savings
Medical Professionals physicians public health workers hospitals clinics
Legal Professionals attorneys court officials police officers
Mass Media Personnel radio TV newspapers magazines
NON-ACCULTURATED SPANISH-AMERICANS

role requirements is at the bottom of the diagram. Above him are the links, that is, persons and agencies which the Spanish surnamed come into contact with in the city. For instance, a Spanish-American may contact an employer for work. If the employer is able to provide him with a job, the employer's gatekeeping may cease. The Spanish person will have been brought into the Anglo world of work, and, consequently, he will be involved in learning the role requirements for a worker in the urban society.

A Spanish-American may contact an employer who is unable to employ him because the job available requires specialized skills which the person does not possess or because there are no job openings. In this case the employer contacts the Central Gatekeeping Station and informs it of the situation. The Central Gatekeeping Station then turns to its list of resources in the worker role and contacts persons in position to find jobs for the unemployed.

In another instance an employer may discover that an employee of Spanish descent is experiencing difficulties in other roles. The employee may be living in a very inadequate dwelling, and he may indicate that he would like to participate in social organizations. The employer would then contact the Central Gatekeeping Station and report the employee's problems. The Central Station would then consult lists of gatekeepers in the dweller and organizational roles.

Again, the same employer may serve as a resource person for the worker role, and the Central Gatekeeping Station would contact him in its efforts to locate jobs for Spanish surnamed persons. Thus each linkage person is also a resource, that is, a possible means through which a Spanish person is introduced to an urban role.

CHAPTER IV

SELECTING THE GATEKEEPER SAMPLE: PROCEDURES

One of the problems related to the investigation of the gatekeeping system in the city involves establishing a procedure for the identification of persons who make up the system of gatekeepers. A major stumbling block in selecting a sample which represents a functional gatekeeping system resides in the fact that it is difficult to delimit with precision the population which ought to be sampled. A gatekeeping system consists of persons who help members of the minority culture with problems of adjustment in the urban community. Persons who help in this manner include countless individuals in the community, but the study of gatekeepers is concerned with isolating those persons who engage in a great deal of gatekeeping activity compared to that which is characteristic of the ordinary citizen.

The problem is similar to that faced in studies of influence and power structures in communities. Robert Schultze and Leonard Blumberg, in addressing the problem of selecting samples of community leaders, concluded that "One can acknowledge that all persons and units in the community exercise certain measures of influence and control without rejecting the proposition that some can mobilize such considerable resources--organizational, economic, psychological--

that have relatively most power over crucial community decisions and actions."[1]

The assumption that there are key individuals in the community who have access to considerable resources is also made here. Moreover, the assumption is made that some individuals are more visible to the community because of structural positions, and as a consequence they are more likely to be used as sources of help by persons who cannot cope with problems which they face in the city.

It is not feasible in an investigation of this nature to deal with a probability sample, that is, with procedures which enable the researcher to specify the probability which each element in the population has of being included in the sample; therefore, a nonprobability sample has been utilized. Although nonprobability sampling gives no assurance that the elements under concern in the population have equal chances of being selected, nevertheless, it has the advantages of being economic, permitting the researcher to deal with the problem of selecting a strategic group out of a large population. It is also a pragmatic alternative when research aims obviate the use of a probability sample.[2]

Studies concerned with community power structures and influence systems have resorted to the use of nonprobability samples.

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[1] Robert O. Schultze and Leonard U. Blumberg, "The Determination of Local Power Elites," The American Journal of Sociology, 63 (1957), p. 291.

[2] Claire Selltiz, Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch and Stuart W. Cook, Research Methods in Social Relations (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1961), pp. 516-521.

Floyd Hunter, in his study of Regional City, based his selection on the reputational method.[3] Persons were located in business, government positions, civic associations, and "society" activities, and then a list of their names was presented to persons who were knowledgeable in the community. The informed community members judged, on the basis of the list, who was to be included in the sample of community leaders.

Carol Thometz, in her study of decision-making in Dallas, also used the reputational method for selecting community decision-makers.[4] The primary sources she used for her sample were informed persons who knew the city and who were able to present her with a list of community leaders.

Jennings selected his sample of community leaders in Atlanta on the basis of several methods.[5] He located key informants, in terms of community positions, and asked them to nominate influential persons. He called this group of nominated persons the "attributed influentials." Jennings further supported his sample by selecting a group of prescribed influentials who were important civic staff members and who held formal positions which provided the potential for influential activity. He also selected a group of economic dominants who held top economic status in the community. Most of his emphasis in the study, however, was on the group of attributed influentials. Jennings found there was a great deal of overlapping between the groups generated by the three sampling procedures.

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[3] Floyd Hunter, Top Leadership, U.S.A. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959), pp. 263-266.

[4] Carol Estes Thometz, The Decision-Makers: The Power Structure of Dallas (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1963), pp. 16-20.

[5] M. Kent Jennings, Community Influentials: The Elites of Atlanta (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), pp. 23-25.

Robert Presthus also used several methods for sample selection in his study of Edgewood and Riverview.[6] The sample included decision-makers who actually participated openly in decision-making, community influentials who were nominated on the basis of reputation, and organizational leaders who held strategic community positions. He felt that his sampling procedure resulted in an adequate depiction of the persons who were most involved in making decisions in the two communities.

Schultze and Blumberg felt that both reputation and position should be used in generating samples of community leaders.[7] They found in their study of Cibola, for instance, that the real leaders were neither economic dominants nor people in strategic community positions. Rather, they concluded that the leadership structure in Cibola could be arrived at only through reputation because the leaders consisted of the old middle class. In this case influentials were persons who represented historical social class lines.

Freeman, Fararo, and Bloomberg pointed out that, in comparing leaders selected by social activity, reputation, and position, they found less than 50 per cent agreement between the three indices of leadership.[8] They felt that each index selects a different set of leaders and that within a community there may in fact be different sets of leaders, each representing different sources of influence.

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[6] Robert Presthus, Men at the Top: A Study in Community Power (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 49.

[7] Schultze and Blumberg, The American Journal of Sociology, 63, pp. 290-296.

James White raised an argument against the use of the positional method of selecting community leaders. He felt that formal leadership (leadership based on an office conferring leadership on the office-holder) and informal leadership do not necessarily coincide. He said, "Informal leadership occurs in a social process not significantly conditioned by the holding of formal leadership positions."[9] His conclusion indicated that both formal and informal leaders must be isolated to uncover community influentials.

Dahl, Wolfinger, and Polsby challenged the reputational approach as inadequate for uncovering leadership structure. Dahl felt that on the basis of reputational studies one can only say that certain people have a reputation, for the studies fail to demonstrate that a reputational core of persons are also the influentials in community leadership.[10] Wolfinger agreed that the reputational method has never been validated, and he felt it is seriously deficient as a technique for finding the leadership structure in a community.[11]

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[8] Linton C. Freeman, Thomas Fararo, and Warner Bloomberg, Jr., "Locating Leaders in Local Communities: A Comparison of Some Alternative Approaches," American Sociological Review, 28 (1963), pp. 791-798.

[9] James E. White, "Theory and Method for Research in Community Leadership," American Sociological Review, 15 (1950), p. 56.

[10] Robert Dahl, "Equality and Power in American Society," Power and Democracy in America, ed. William V. D'Antonio and H. J. Ehrlich (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1961), pp. 73-89.

Polsby criticized D'Antonio's study of El Paso and Cd. Juarez, Chihuahua, Mexico, because it was based on the reputational method.[12] He pointed out that in D'Antonio's study only small segments of his reputational leaders participated in any one decision made in the communities; the more usual case found them opposing each other, and in all but one case the identified influentials lost the decision which they supported.

The discussion surrounding techniques for sample selection in community studies of leadership and influentials in decision-making indicate that there is no single best procedure, based on empirical considerations, available to the researcher. The problem of isolating the "leader" or "influential" becomes insolvable when the researcher becomes concerned with finding the "real leaders" or the "real influentials" in relationship to a large array of generally defined community activities. There is no method for isolating a set of real leaders or influentials unless there is agreement on the operational definitions of their characters. The problem of "real leaders" becomes less significant in the process of operationally defining the concept of leader, influential, or gatekeeper, and a more important question is related to the significance and utility of the particular operational definition in regard to the goals of the researcher.

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[11] Raymond E. Wolfinger, "Reputation and Reality in the Study of Community Power," American Sociological Review, 25 (1960), pp. 636-644.

[12] Nelson W. Polsby, "Community Power: Some Reflections on the Recent Literature," American Sociological Review, 27 (1962), pp. 838-841.

One could be legitimately concerned with those who are reputed to be leaders and analyze their activities, with those who hold dominant economic positions and examine their role in community leadership, or with leaders selected of the basis of other criteria stategic to research purposes. Merton came to this conclusion in a study of influentials in regard to magazine subscriptions. He said, "For, as we discovered, it is not so much a matter of identifying _influentials_ (and the use they make of newsmagazines) but of detecting _types of influentials_ (and associated differences in their orientation toward newsmagazines as agencies of information concerning the larger society rather than their own local community)."[13] Merton found that they were dealing with one group of influentials who confined their activities to local matters and another group of influentials who exerted influence in matters which extended outside of the local community into the broader society.[14]

The question, then, of how one should select gatekeepers for an ethnic minority in the urban community is dependent on the operational definition of the gatekeeper. The original interest in the gatekeeping system stemmed from the desire to investigate the links within the community which facilitate the acculturation of the minority group members to the dominant Anglo-urban culture. It is apparent that several assumptions can be made: (1) there are some persons in the community structure who have relatively greater access to various resources which are useful to persons involved in the process of acculturation; (2) some persons in strategic positions are willing to share their access to resources with others who need them; (3) persons involved in the acculturation process also seek for links to resources which are needed; and (4) it is possible to identify persons who act as linkages to resources.

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[13] Robert K. Merton, _Social Theory_ . . ., p. 389.

[14] _Ibid_., p. 393.

The operationalization of the concept "gatekeeper" is related to the functional activities which are a part of gatekeeping. Thus, a gatekeeper is one who actually participates in helping Spanish-Americans with the problems they face in the city. No attempt was made to isolate strategic persons in any other context except that of functioning as a gatekeeper.

It is important, as a first step in identifying the linkage system of gatekeepers, to summarize activities which would be useful to Spanish-Americans. Such a summary can be made by using the role contexts described in Chapter III. Each role context encompasses a major area of life experience for the individual in the urban community. The role contexts are intended to include all life activity directly related to existence in a modern city. The operational definition of gatekeeper is dependent on the role contexts, for participation in one or more roles is necessary for membership in the gatekeeping sample.

A total of nine role contexts are used in the study. No assumptions are made about the reality of the role contexts for the individual, but such contexts are useful as an analytical device in reducing the multitudes of activities in which people are involved in the complex process of living in the city. The nine roles include worker, dweller, church member, manager, patient, welfare client, organization member, legal, and mass media consumer roles. Each role context will be discussed in greater detail to indicate its application in the study.

Gatekeeping in the worker role involves the extension of help in several areas. It includes helping Spanish surnamed persons get jobs, contacting or having them contact specific facilities which result in job procurement, or, in the case of gatekeepers who themselves hire workers, giving jobs to persons of Spanish descent. Gatekeeping in the area of vocational training and education in public and private schools were included here as activities which help persons in the worker role.

Gatekeeping in the dweller role includes activity related to the provision of housing for Spanish persons. This role context is actually divided into three separate subroles. Gatekeeping in the dweller role can involve support to persons who are interested in purchasing a house or help with problems attendant to home ownership, such as getting mortgages or clearing legal problems with deeds of ownership. A second subrole in the dweller role is the renter role. The renter role is related to activity which results in the procurement of private rental units for Spanish surnamed persons. The third area in which assistance is given is that of public housing. Public housing is a city sponsored housing program which provides adequate facilities at low rental fees for families with marginal incomes. The rental fee is based on the financial status of the family. Public housing accomodations are frequently used by families in the city welfare program, expecially by mateless mothers with dependent children. Gatekeeping in the public housing role not only involves the passing on of information about the program, but it also includes help which is given in gaining acceptance for a family to the program, attempts to resolve problems which families in public housing have about eligibility for residence, and helps with problems of communication between residents and staff members in public housing.

The religious institutions in the city also have their gatekeepers. The activity in this area includes taking people to church, leading them to sources of religious instruction, and bringing them into contact with religious institutions for baptisms, marriages, and funerals of relatives and friends. Gatekeepers call on religious organizations for donations of food, clothing, money, and also for loans, but these activities are included in another role context. The concern in the religious role is with help that leads to the satisfaction of religious needs which the people experience.

The manager role is concerned with gatekeeping in the management of funds. The role context is divided into five subroles in which gatekeepers assist people in the management of their finances and personal possessions: the buyer role, the seller role, the loans role, the saver role, and the checking account role. The buyer role concerns the purchase of furniture, appliances, clothing, groceries, and automobiles. Gatekeeping in the role includes advice on where such goods can be purchased and the value of the articles. Gatekeepers may also contact merchants and salesmen to let them know that someone is coming in for a purchase, or gatekeepers may go with the Spanish surnamed to places of business.

The seller role was designed for gatekeeping which is concerned with helping the minority group members sell articles they want to dispose of. This is done by showing them how to use paid advertisements, permitting them to display advertisements in public places, or actually contacting businesses or individuals who might be interested in purchasing particular items.

Gatekeepers may assist persons of Spanish descent who need to borrow money, and the loans role covers this kind of activity. The possible kinds of assistance include directing persons to public lending agencies, sending them to private credit unions, and trying to establish for them personal contacts with lending agencies. Giving a personal loan to a person who could not qualify for a loan through formal agencies is also included here as a gatekeeping activity.

Efficient management of money in the urban setting requires the maintenance of savings and checking accounts. Gatekeeping in these two roles consists of leading persons unskilled in these areas to participate in them. Help can be given by advising people how to initiate savings plans and checking accounts and by bringing them into personal contact with members of financial institutions.

The patient role deals with activity which is oriented toward helping persons who are physically or mentally ill. Gatekeeping in the patient role is carried on by bringing persons into contact with physicians, hospitals, clinics, pharmaceutical centers, and other persons or institutions directly related to the treatment of physical and mental aberrations. It includes actions which result in private medical care or treatment for indigent persons financed by public or private organizations.

Spanish-Americans who come from a rural Spanish culture sometimes find themselves without financial resources in the modern city, and some of them must rely on urban programs of financial support. The welfare client role includes gatekeeping which is aimed at relieving the plight of the poverty stricken. The activity consists of bringing persons into contact with the city's Department of Welfare and charitable institutions such as religious groups, private organizations, and others who are willing to donate money or goods. The gatekeeper may initiate a relationship between the indigent family and the donors or mediate difficulties between the persons in need and the supporting organization.

There are many private organizations in the urban community, and some are composed of persons of Spanish descent. The Spanish organizations in the city generally serve as buffers between the Spanish and the non-Spanish populations. They are sources of information and social activity, and many of them act as pressure groups in the city. Gatekeeping in this area consists of bringing individuals into contact with these organizations and fostering organizational participation.

Spanish persons also face legal difficulties in the city which they cannot solve. Gatekeepers in the legal role help persons in need of legal counsel by securing professional legal assistance, contacting law enforcement agencies, approaching persons in the court systems, and calling on personnel in the probation and parole departments. A gatekeeper may help persons who have been arrested, who have violated probation and parole agreements, who need assistance with legal documents, or who need legal aid to solve domestic problems. All of these activities are a part of gatekeeping in the legal role.

Mass media gatekeepers can encourage or discourage persons from using certain newspapers, magazines, radio stations, and TV channels. Moreover, gatekeepers may be active in passing on their opinions about the material of the mass media to the minority group, or they may be solicited for their opinions on current community issues. Activity in this general area comprises gatekeeping in the communications role.

A gatekeeper is one who helps persons in any of the role contexts which have been discussed. The operational definition of a gatekeeper specifies a range of activities with which he must be associated in order for him to be defined as a link between the Spanish-American community and the Anglo-urban culture.

Each gatekeeper who was interviewed was asked if he participated as a helper in each of the role contexts. He was also asked to name persons or organizations which he used to perform the activity in each role context in which he indicated participation, and he was also asked to name persons or organizations which contacted him for resources in each role context. The final decision for each gatekeeper and his participation in a role context was judgmental. Three independent judges rated a person as active in a role context on the basis of: (1) his positional ability to provide the means necessary to fulfill the requests for help in a role context, (2) his citation of other persons or organizations used as resources, and (3) his citation of others who used him as a resource for gatekeeping in a role context. If a gatekeeper stated that he was not active as a helper in a role, it was accepted as a true statement. There were 1,168 decisions for the judges to make, and agreement was voiced on 93.32 per cent of the decisions.[15] The cases for which there was disagreement were discussed and all decisions were resolved.

The operationalization of the concept "gatekeeper" enabled the researcher to determine who was actually participating in gatekeeping activities, but this did not specify the procedures which were to be used to locate the individual gatekeepers in the urban milieu. The problem was resolved by resorting to a combination of methods, similar to those used in the studies of community leadership and power structures.

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[15] David Pratto, Gabino Rendon and Norman Kurtz acted as judges for role context activity.

First of all, a list of names was developed on a reputational basis. A core of Spanish leaders, active in the behalf of the minority group, was identified by the frequent appearance of their names in local news media, and, also, individuals who had prior knowledge of the leadership structure through research or personal interest in community affairs were asked for names of persons who helped minority group members. This effort resulted in approximately 20 names of Spanish leaders in the community. These leaders were then contacted and asked for the names of persons they thought were trying to help Spanish-Americans who encountered difficulties in the city. The name generating procedure was aimed at isolating persons who were reported as being helpful to the minority members in the acculturation process. As the field work progressed, all persons who were interviewed were asked to nominate persons who, in their opinion, were active as gatekeepers. A total of 114 names was generated through this procedure.

The second basis for producing the sample involved a probe for persons representing activity in each of the role contexts. During the initial phase of the fieldwork, individuals were sought who were occupationally engaged in each of the nine role contexts. For example, persons in the worker role were contacted who held positions in agencies formally defined as functioning in the area of finding employment for people or who represented teaching and training institutions. The concern was not to represent persons who held positions strategic to the role contexts, but to identify persons in such positions who were engaged in gatekeeping operations. Thus, formal agencies related to the role contexts are represented only if members in the agency are active as gatekeepers. Twenty seven names were generated in the search for gatekeepers in role contexts independent of those names which were gathered from the 20 reputational leaders.

A final basis for selection of the gatekeepers involved contacts with community organizations. The organizations included civic groups related to the city and state governments, such as the Civic Mediation Board, the city's Anti-Discrimination Commission, the state Anti-Discrimination Commission, and the Governor's Office of Economic Aid. Special effort was made to contact voluntary organizations which are directly concerned with the Spanish population, and their leaders were contacted. It was felt that this measure would prevent the omission of gatekeeping at a more informal level which might not be uncovered on the basis of reputation and the role contexts. Again, the primary concern was to find gatekeepers in the organizations rather than to represent each organization in the sample. Although this procedure led to contact with organizational leaders early in the field work, it did not generate names which had not been previously reported. Thus, the names arrived at through this step are included in the 114 names which were generated by citation.

Whether contacted because of his reputation, position, or organizational role, each person was asked to name others he thought were doing a lot to help Spanish Americans in the community. Thus, persons interviewed as gatekeepers in one role context were given the opportunity to cite persons they felt were important as gatekeepers in any of the other role contexts.

A final sample of 73 gatekeepers was selected out of a total of 161 gatekeeper names. The process of name seeking was carried on until the names generated became repetitive and new names failed to appear. The names for the final sample were selected on the basis of the frequency with which they were cited by other gatekeepers, but, in the case of several role contexts, names which were cited less often were selected because they represented gatekeeping in specific role contexts. The latter role contexts included the patient role, the manager role, and the communications role. Several names which were not frequently cited were also used in the welfare client role because they represented gatekeeping in specific neighborhoods with a high proportion of Spanish surnamed families.

There were three rounds of interviews. The first round was designed to give the researcher basic information related to the gatekeeping process and to generate names for the gatekeeper sample. The set of interviews consisted of six open-ended questions, and hand-written notes were taken during the interview. The notes were reviewed and typed as soon as possible after the interview. The following questions were used:

1. Could you tell the story of a Spanish-American who came to the city from a rural area and has become a success in the city? Why do you feel he is successful? (If the subject knew of no one, he was then asked to tell what he felt was necessary for a Spanish surnamed person to succeed in the city.)

2. Could you tell the story of a Spanish-American who came to the city from a rural area and has become a failure in the city? Why do you feel he is a failure? (If the subject knew of no one, he was then asked to tell what he felt caused a Spanish surnamed person to fail in the city. It should be noted that each subject was permitted to define success and failure in his own terms.)

3. To which individuals would you send a Spanish-American for help with problems he had in the city?

4. Which organizations would you call on to help persons of Spanish descent who are having problems in the city?

5. Who do you think is doing a lot to help Spanish-Americans in the city?

6. Would you tell about your own experiences in the city and how you managed to do as well as you do in the city? What do you feel was really important for you? Where did you turn to when you had trouble?

Thirty interviews were completed with the foregoing instrument. Each interview took about one hour to complete. The information which resulted enabled the researcher to anticipate the types of problems he would face in the study of gatekeeping, and the interviews also helped to establish a list of gatekeeper names from which a sample could be drawn.

On the basis of the first 30 interviews another instrument was designed. It was more specific than the first instrument and consisted of an open-ended questionaire. The purpose of the second instrument was to provide more detailed information on the process of gatekeeping. The interviews were taped and transcribed. The schedule probed the areas of (1) the subject's occupational role and the areas in which the occupational status presented opportunities to help Spanish-Americans. Each of the nine role contexts was probed during each interview for possible gatekeeping activity.

(2) The subject was asked to describe in detail the process of helping in a specific experience he had with gatekeeping. (3) The subject was presented with a number of questions which required him to make a general evaluation of the kind of persons who came to him for help. (4) The subject was asked to name other persons who were engaged in helping persons of Spanish descent. (5) A life history of the subject was gathered which included the story of his experience in the city. Appendix I presents the complete instrument which was used in the second round of interviews.

Eight interviews were completed in the second round. Each of the interviews lasted from three to four hours. It was felt that eight of the intensive interviews provided enough additional information to guide the design of the final instrument. The third and final interview schedule was developed to probe specific gatekeeping functions and the interrelationships among the gatekeepers.

The final interview schedule was based on the nine role contexts. Similar questions were asked in each of the role contexts. The complete interview schedule is presented in Appendix II. The basic questions for the worker role are presented here as an example of the type of information which was sought in each of the role contexts.

1. Do you ever help Spanish-Americans find jobs?
2. Do you help find jobs for Spanish-Americans very often ___, often ___, or seldom ___?
3. Do you ever hire Spanish-Americans?
4. Do Spanish-Americans ever come to you and ask you to help them find jobs?

5. Do other persons or organizations ever contact you and ask you to help them find jobs for Spanish-Americans who they are trying to help?

6. Which organizations and persons do you contact when you are trying to find jobs for Spanish-Americans?

The same core of questions was designed for each of the role contexts. A brief life history of the interviewee and a social class index were also included in the questionaire. The final question was: Who do you think is doing a lot to help Spanish-Americans in the city? Seventy three interviews were completed. Fifteen of the 73 subjects had been interviewed in one of the two earlier rounds of interviewing. Each interview took from two to two and one half hours to complete. The interview schedules were completed in writing during the interview, and each schedule was reviewed and checked as soon as possible after the completion of the interview. All interviews were handled by the author of this study.

Table 26 presents the distribution of gatekeepers in the role context, as well as the number of gatekeepers of Spanish and non-Spanish descent and the number of male and female gatekeepers. It must be noted that in this particular analysis nine role contexts are discussed. In the later discussion of gatekeeping activity 15 role contexts will be used, for the subroles in the dweller role and the manager role will be discussed as separate role contexts.

TABLE 26

GATEKEEPERS: ROLE CONTEXTS, ETHNIC ORIGIN, AND SEX

Role Context	Spanish		Non-Spanish		Totals
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Worker Role	7	4	0	1	12
Dweller Role	4	2	1	0	7
Church Member Role	5	0	1	0	6
Manager Role	7	0	0	0	7
Patient Role	3	1	0	1	5
Welfare Client Role	2	0	2	2	6
Organization Member Role	5	5	2	3	15
Legal Role	10	0	3	0	13
Mass Media Consumer Role	2	0	0	0	2
Totals	45	12	9	7	73

Approximately 78 per cent of the sample members are of Spanish descent. Non-Spanish persons were included in the sample on the same basis as the Spanish-Americans, for the concern was to find links to community resources useful to Spanish-Americans, and it was not assumed that these linkage persons were necessarily of Spanish descent. In the total sample of gatekeepers, 77 per cent of the members are males, while about 79 per cent of the Spanish gatekeepers are males. The non-Spanish gatekeepers were almost equally distributed with 56 per cent male and 44 per cent female.

The heaviest concentrations of non-Spanish gatekeepers are in the welfare client role and the organization member role. The only other role context to have more than one non-Spanish gatekeeper is the legal role. The role contexts which are represented by the most gatekeepers, Spanish and non-Spanish, are the worker role, the organizational role, and the legal role. The others are approximately equally represented, except for the communications role which has only two male members of Spanish descent and no other gatekeepers.

The non-Spanish females are concentrated in the client and organizational roles which account for over 70 per cent of the non-Spanish female gatekeepers. The Spanish females are concentrated in the worker and organizational roles, for 75 per cent of them are occupationally assigned to these two role contexts. Neither Spanish nor non-Spanish females are represented in the religious, manager, legal, and communications roles.

The questionnaire which was used to gather the data included information on the occupation and education of each of the gatekeepers. Hollingshead's two factor index of social position was utilized to establish the class positions of the gatekeepers.[1] It should be noted that the two factor index is an abbreviation of the social position index which Hollingshead and Redlich used in their study of mental illness and social class in New Haven, for they included a third factor, ecological area of residence.[2] The same three factor index was used by Myers and Roberts in their study of mental illness, the family, and social class position.[3] The two factor index eliminates the ecological factor. In speaking of the two remaining factors, Hollingshead said, "Occupation is presumed to reflect the skill and power individuals possess as they perform the many maintenance functions in the society. Education is believed to reflect not only knowledge, but also cultural tastes."[4]

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[1] August B. Hollingshead, Two Factor Index of Social Position (New Haven, by the author, 1957).

No assumptions are made here about the reality of social class standings from the gatekeepers' perspectives. The two factor index does provide some insight into the standings of the gatekeepers in regard to educational and occupational achievements. As Alex Simirenko said, "It may be particularly applicable in the studies of American ethnic communities. The differentiation and upward social mobility of members of ethnic communities is achieved primarily through acquisition of education and concomitant occupational achievements."[5]

The occupational scale ranks occupations, and each occupation is assigned a rank in the following order: (1) higher executives, proprietors of large concerns, and major professionals; (2) business managers, proprietors of medium sized businesses, and lesser professionals; (3) administrative personnel, small independent businesses, and minor professionals; (4) clerical and salesworkers, technicians, and owners of little businesses; (5) skilled manual employees; (6) machine operators and semi-skilled employees; and (7) unskilled employees.[6]

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[2] August B. Hollingshead and Frederick C. Redlich, Social Class and Mental Illness (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1958), pp. 37-38.

[3] Jerome K. Myers and Bertram H. Roberts, Family and Class Dynamics in Mental Illness (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1959), pp. 39-40.

[4] August B. Hollingshead, Two Factor Index of Social Position, p. 2.

[5] Alex Simirenko, Pilgrims, Colonists, and Frontiersmen (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), p. 26.

The educational scale consists of seven categories: (1) graduate professional training resulting in a recognized degree; (2) standard college or university graduation; (3) partial college training; (4) high school graduates; (5) partial high school; (6) junior high school; and (7) less than seven years of school.[7]

Hollingshead computed factor weights for occupation and education by multiple correlation techniques.[8] The factor weights are based on the regression scores of occupation on education and education on occupation. Hollingshead found the factor weight for occupation was seven, and for education it was four. The weights were adopted for the class analysis of gatekeepers. The scale position, that is, the assigned rank value of each gatekeeper, is multiplied by the factor weight, resulting in a social position score. Table 27 presents the social positions of the 73 gatekeepers in relation to the nine role contexts.

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[6] August B. Hollingshead, Two Factor Index of Social Position, pp. 3-8.

[7] Ibid., p. 9.

[8] Ibid., pp. 9-10.

TABLE 27

SOCIAL CLASS POSITIONS AND THE ROLE CONTEXTS

Role Context	Social Class Positions I	II	III	IV	V	Totals
Worker Role	0	4	5	3	0	12
Dweller Role	0	2	3	2	0	7
Church Member Role	3	0	3	0	0	6
Manager Role	1	1	3	2	0	7
Patient Role	2	2	0	1	0	5
Welfare Client Role	0	6	0	0	0	6
Organization Member Role	0	3	4	3	5	15
Legal Role	6	6	1	0	0	13
Mass Media Consumer Role	0	1	0	1	0	2
Totals	12	25	19	12	5	73

Table 27 indicates that 56 gatekeepers, or 79 per cent of the sample, are in class III or higher, while 44 of them, or 63 per cent, are members of classes II and III. The church member, welfare client, and legal roles have no members who are classified lower than class III, and the gatekeepers in the client role are all members of class II. The legal role has only one member in class III and six members each in classes I and II. Members of the church member role are either in class I or class III. All the gatekeepers in the church member role are clergymen, and the difference between clergymen in class I and in class III is based on the amount of formal education that they have had.

The organization member role context is the only one which has members in class V. The worker and dweller role contexts exhibit members who are distributed in classes II, III, and IV. The manager role has one member in class I, as well as members in classes II, III, and IV. The patient role members are in classes I and II, except for one member who is in class IV. The class IV member was a secretary in City Hospital. There are only two members in the mass media consumer role, one member from class II and one from class IV.

The social positions of the sample members, in respect to sex and ethnic origin, are depicted in Table 28. There are 16 non-Spanish members in the sample, and 12 of these are in classes I and II. The indication is that those who are elicited as gatekeepers for Spanish surnamed persons, who are not of Spanish descent, tend to hold upper class positions. The two non-Spanish class I members are an attorney and a clergyman. The class II members who are not of Spanish origin include six persons in the social work profession, two court officials, a member of the Department of Welfare, and an employee for the city's Civic Mediation Board. Thus, the class II members are characterized by their professional involvement with the ethnic minority. The

TABLE 28

SOCIAL CLASS, ETHNIC ORIGIN, AND SEX OF GATEKEEPERS

	Spanish		Non-Spanish		
Social Class	Male	Female	Male	Female	Totals
I	10	0	2	0	12
II	14	1	6	4	25
III	15	3	0	1	19
IV	6	5	1	0	12
V	0	3	0	2	5
Totals	45	12	9	7	73

non-Spanish class III member holds an important position in a labor union, and the class IV member is involved with the Spanish because of his organizational participation in a public housing project which includes many Spanish persons. Two of the non-Spanish gatekeepers are in class V, and they are leaders in organizations which represent the public housing population and involve many persons of Spanish descent.

Sample members of Spanish origin are represented in each of the social class positions. However, there are no female members in class I and no male members in class V. Eight of the 12 Spanish female gatekeepers are in classes IV and V, and only one female has a class position as high as class II. The male Spanish gatekeepers, on the other hand, have 39 of their group in classes I, II, and III, and only six members in class IV. The indication is that if females are active as gatekeepers, they are most likely to be linkages which have low social positions, while males tend to hold middle and upper class positions in regard to education and occupation.

In summary, it should be noted that the effort in developing the sample membership was not aimed at representing any particular categories of social class, occupations, or social roles, but it was designed to isolate persons who were evaluated by members of the community as active helpers of Spanish-Americans with adjustment problems. Indeed, effort was made to seek gatekeepers in each of the role contexts which were utilized, but equal representation of these categories was not the major concern.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS OF THE GATEKEEPING SYSTEM

The general characteristics of the sample of gatekeepers discussed in the preceding chapter briefly describe the gatekeepers. The analysis of the structure of relationships among gatekeepers shows how the helper system works. Cliques among the gatekeepers are identified in this chapter through the use of cluster analysis, and in the following two chapters the functions and interclique relationships are examined.

The instrument which was used to gather information on gatekeeping activity was concerned, not only with the kind of help the gatekeepers provide, but also with how they are able to help. The general hypothesis is that an organized system of interrelated persons carry on gatekeeping activity. The assumption was made that gatekeeping activity takes place, not only when an individual has all the resources necessary to perform requested activities, but gatekeeping also takes place even when a particular gatekeeper lacks the immediate resources to perform a requested function. It is postulated that the effort of gatekeeping involves the use of other persons who can supply the gatekeeper with the resources he does not possess. It is this system of resource exchange which is the gatekeeping system.

Part of the information sought from each gatekeeper in the interview was related to whom he contacted or used to assist him in helping others and who contacted or used him in order to help others. For example, a gatekeeper employed by the Department of Welfare may find that an indigent family is in legal difficulty because of a loan with exorbitant interest rates. Although the gatekeeper is not a legal professional, he may know of an attorney who would be willing to apply his legal skills in breaking the loan agreement and arranging for a more equitable loan plan. In turn the gatekeeper from the Department of Welfare may be contacted by a physician who learns of a family in need of Welfare support.

The "functional" set of relationships which exist among gatekeepers can be established by eliciting the above type of information. The term "functional relationships" is used here only in the sense that the relationships between a particular gatekeeper and other gatekeepers in the system are based on whom he cites and who cites him as useful in carrying out a gatekeeping function. Each gatekeeper who was interviewed was asked to cite only persons whom he actually used in performing his function.

The research instrument produced data which consisted of the names of persons cited by a gatekeeper as contacts which he used to carry on his gatekeeping activity. The total sample of 73 gatekeepers is used in the analysis. Only those names cited, which were also in the sample of 73 gatekeepers, are used in the analysis.

A square matrix was set up with the names of the 73 gatekeepers as subject names on the vertical axis, and the same names

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of gatekeepers were used as variable names on the horizontal axis. Three scores were possible for each subject on each variable name. A zero score was given if a subject did not cite or was not cited by a variable name. A score of one indicated that a subject either cited or was cited by a variable name. A score of two was assigned when a subject not only cited a variable name or was cited by a variable name but when the report of citing or being cited was corroborated by the variable name under concern.

The goal was to isolate clusters of people in the matrix based on interlocking sets of citations. Such clusters represent groups of gatekeepers in terms of their use of each other in the process of carrying on gatekeeping activity. Clusters resulting from this method are functionally homogeneous; that is, they represent groups of people using similar resources to perform gatekeeping functions.

Cluster analysis was selected as the analytical technique for isolating the cliques formed by the cross-citations of the gatekeepers. Robert C. Tryon defined the procedure as follows: "Cluster analysis is a statistical procedure designed to implement the logical processes by which the analyst delineates the general properties of a sample of objects, and then groups the objects into homogeneous 'types' in terms of these general properties."[1] Through this technique, objects which are most alike in terms of defined characteristics are clustered into groups, and each group is assumed to be heterogeneous to other groups in terms of the properties on which the clusters are based.

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[1] Robert C. Tryon,"Identification of Social Areas by Cluster Analysis," University of California Publications in Psychology, 8 (1955), p. 2.

In the case of the data used in this study, the sample of subjects consisted of the 73 gatekeepers, and the variable names used to differentiate the gatekeepers consisted of each gatekeeper's catalogue of citations of other gatekeepers whom he used as resources. The clusters which resulted were homogeneous in respect to mutual citations and heterogeneous in respect to a lack of common citations.

It must be remembered that the cliques produced by the cluster analysis are cliques only in terms of the observed cross-citations. Thus, a gatekeeping clique membership is based only on whom the gatekeeper cites, or who cites him in relation to the exercise of gatekeeping functions. The total configuration of all the cliques provides an objective description of the structure of the gatekeeping system in terms of the functions of gatekeepers.

Tryon set forth the theoretical basis for cluster analysis as early as 1939, and he was also instrumental in developing a computer program to carry out cluster analysis, the B C TRY System.[2] This system was utilized in analyzing the data. In the simplest terms it is a technique which assigns variables to the groups of variables with which they are the most similar.

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[2] Robert C. Tryon, Cluster Analysis (Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, 1939), and "Theory of the B C TRY System: Statistical Theory" (University of California, Berkeley, 1964), (Mimeographed.).

The initial procedure in defining the clusters for gatekeeping involved use of Tryon's and Bailey's communality key cluster analysis.[3] The intercorrelations for the subjects are computed. Then the pivot variable is selected, which is the variable with the largest variance of its squared r's and the subset of variables most collinear to the variable and to each other are added to it as definers. Thus, the pivot variable has relatively high r's with its most collinear subset of variables and low r's with all other variables. After the first pivot variable and its subset of variables are selected, the next variable with the largest variance of its squared r's is selected with its definers. The procedure is reiterated until the possibilities offered by the sample are exhausted.

This procedure produced 15 clusters, that is, 15 domains which were internally homogeneous, but heterogeneous in relation to each other. The gatekeepers were placed into clusters on the basis of their homogeneity in citing one another. Scores of zero between a gatekeeper and a set of other gatekeepers meant that he was dropped out of the set due to (1) his failure to cite members of the set, and (2) the failure of members of the set to cite him. Scores of one between a gatekeeper and a set of other gatekeepers meant that he was cited or was citing members of the set, and such citations assign the gatekeeper to a clique. Scores of two between a gatekeeper and a set of other gatekeepers meant that he was cited or was citing members of the set, and such citations assign the gatekeeper to a clique. Scores of two between a gatekeeper and a set of other gatekeepers indicated that not only were there mutual citations between the gatekeeper and the set, but the citations were corroborated by those who were cited. A separate score for a corroborated citation served to strengthen the measure of homogeneity between the members of the sample who substantiated each other's reports. Gatekeepers with mutual scores of two were interpreted as being "closer" to each other, while the gatekeepers with non-corroborated citations were moved out further on the fringe of the cluster space.

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[3] Robert C. Tryon, and Daniel E. Bailey, "User's Manual of the B C TRY System of Cluster and Factor Analysis" (Department of Psychology, University of Colorado, 1964), pp. 58-59.

The 15 clusters which resulted from the key cluster analysis were also depicted geometrically in the B C TRY System which enables the analyst to inspect the cluster configurations visually.[4] The configuration of each clique is presented on a generalized sphere which depicts geometrically the intercorrelations between the variables on the basis of three-dimensional subspaces. Each of the subspaces was part of a total 15-dimensional space. The spherical depiction permits the analyst to plot the location of each sample member, and cluster memberships can be refined by manually plotting members who are not clearly located in any one clique.

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[4] Tryon, "Theory of . . .," p. 81.

Ten of the 73 gatekeepers were not included in any of the 15 clusters because they had communality estimates of less than .2000. The communality estimate, in simple terms, refers to that portion of the variance of a variable which is predictable from the n-1 other variables involved in the analysis.[5] The gatekeepers who were excluded had only a small portion of their variance predictable on the basis of the 15 cliques formed by the relationships existing among the other gatekeepers.

The 15 clusters are presented in Table 29. The names which appear in the table are fictitious, and the selection of the cluster titles will be discussed in the following chapter. Included in the table are the factor coefficients (the correlation of the gatekeeper with the cluster domain), the partial communalities (the amount of variation of the gatekeeper which is accounted for by the cluster of gatekeepers to which he is assigned), and the total communality (the amount of variation of the gatekeeper accounted for by all 15 clusters, which is the sum of his partial communalities).[6]

The factor coefficients and the communalities were examined closely for each of these variables, but they were plotted on the three-dimensional subspaces. Even though their correlation to any dimension was relatively low, it was concentrated in one of the 15 dimensions. Although the total variance explained by all the

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[5] *Ibid*., pp. 20-21.

[6] *Ibid*., pp. 71-72.

TABLE 29

Gatekeeping Clusters

Clusters and Gatekeepers	Factor Coefficient	Partial Communality	Total Communality
Cluster I *The Voice of the Community*			
Elvira	.86	.85	.88
Andres	.92	.73	.75
Dario	.79	.63	.67
Cluster II *The Champions of the Poor*			
Lola	.91	.82	.88
June	.85	.72	.78
Donald	.48	.23	.34
Cluster III *The Staple Circle*			
Janet	.82	.68	.74
Inez	.79	.62	.71
Bridget	.79	.62	.67
Faith	.74	.52	.62
Ethan*	.62	.38	.43
Morgan*	.51	.26	.28
Estella*	.32	.10	.18
Cindy*	.25	.06	.19
Cluster IV *The Redeemers*			
Pedro	.89	.79	.85
Magdalena	.88	.77	.85
Rev. Jacobo*	.36	.13	.33
Cluster V *The City Face*			
Nina	.84	.71	.80
Lucas	.77	.60	.68
Rev. Daniel*	.56	.31	.74

TABLE 29 (Continued)

Clusters and Gatekeepers	Factor Coefficient	Partial Communality	Total Communality
Cluster VI The Watchers			
Franklin	.88	.77	.81
Alice	.85	.72	.81
Cluster VII The Patrons			
Elisa	.84	.71	.85
Santiago	.78	.57	.71
Rubel	.71	.50	.71
Ignacio	.60	.36	.43
Simon*	.29	.09	.25
Cluster VIII The Gemeinschaft			
Santana	.85	.72	.81
Rev. Isaias	.79	.62	.80
Fernando*	.40	.16	.24
Rev. Solomon*	.27	.07	.13
Cluster IX The Caretakers			
Marta	.84	.71	.76
Eduardo	.81	.66	.76
Thurstone*	.33	.11	.25
Cluster X The Rehabilitators			
Hilario	.73	.53	.66
Jorge	.73	.54	.68
Teresina	.50	.25	.43
Cluster XI The Defenders			
Candido	.67	.44	.61
Manuel	.58	.34	.58
Ermino	.67	.45	.74
Ramon	.57	.33	.58
Miguel	.57	.32	.83
Juan	.43	.18	.50

TABLE 29 (Continued)

Clusters and Gatekeepers	Factor Coefficient	Partial Communality	Total Communality
Cluster XII The Proselytizers			
Rev. Benjamin	.75	.55	.67
Rev. Efraim	.71	.50	.67
Cluster XIII The Problem-Solvers			
Victoria	.69	.47	.56
Anita*	.47	.22	.42
Cluster XIV The Ins			
Carolina	.58	.33	.55
Urban	.67	.44	.73
Noberto	.42	.18	.37
Antonio	.56	.32	.52
Tito*	.43	.18	.38
Pablo*	.30	.10	.32
Ricardo*	.29	.09	.30
Cluster XV The Toilers			
Lionor	.69	.47	.71
Francisco	.47	.23	.34
Luis	.34	.12	.22
Alfredo	.67	.44	.83

* The names with asterisks are those persons who were placed into clusters on the basis of visual inspection of three-dimensional geometric subspaces.

variables in the sample space was small for these variables, a meaningful portion of the total communality which the variables had with the 15 clusters was relatively concentrated in one of the clusters.

The B C TRY System also computed domain validities for the clusters. The domain validity of a cluster shows how well the variation sampled by the cluster corresponds to the variation in the total sample. The closer the domain validity is to 1.00 the greater is its representation of some portion of the variance actually observed across the sample space. It is computed as follows:

$$DV_r = \frac{n_i \bar{r}_{ii}}{1 + (n_i - 1)\bar{r}_{ii}}$$

In this case, n_i equals the number of gatekeepers in a cluster, and $\bar{r}_{ii}$ equals the mean r for the gatekeepers in a cluster.[7]

High validities are of great importance, for they mean that in the 15 cluster scores the subjects vary in a way that would be similar to the way they would vary in their 15 hypothetical domain scores.[8] In other words, the higher the validity coefficient, the more perfect a measure the composite score of a cluster is of the general kind of variation sampled by the variables in the cluster.[9] The literature does not establish limits for "good" domain validities, but Tryon indicated that scores near .90 could be considered as very good measures; that is, they indicate that the clusters are meaningful in relation to the sample characteristics used in an analysis.[10]

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[7] Tryon, *University of California Publications in Psychology*, 8, p. 62.

[8] *Ibid*., p. 14.

[9] *Ibid*., pp. 61-62.

The domain validities which were observed for the 15 clusters are presented in Table 30. It must be noted that the domain validities were computed prior to the manual insertion of the names designated by asterisks in Table 29. The domain validities for the 15 clusters indicate that each cluster represents variation sampled in the gatekeeping system.

TABLE 30

Domain Validities

Clusters	Domain Validities	Clusters	Domain Validities	Clusters	Domain Validities
I	.95	VI	.94	XI	.92
II	.91	VII	.93	XII	.89
III	.95	VIII	.93	XIII	.88
IV	.96	IX	.93	XIV	.88
V	.91	X	.89	XV	.87

It is also interesting to look at the correlations between the clusters which have been isolated. It is useful to think of a cluster as being necessary in terms of its independence from other clusters. A low correlation indicates high independence. A high correlation between cluster scores indicates that a minimal set of clusters necessary to describe all of the variation among the variables has not been achieved.[11]

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[10] Ibid., p. 62.

[11] Ibid., pp. 53-55.

TABLE 31

Raw Cluster Score Correlations

Clusters	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV
I	.95	-.09	-.14	-.05	-.02	-.05	-.07	.02	-.09	-.12	.04	-.07	-.08	.10	-.11
II	-.09	.91	-.10	.08	.07	-.0003	-.01	-.16	.02	.11	.30	-.11	.04	-.13	-.13
III	-.14	-.09	.95	-.08	-.0004	-.04	-.07	-.14	-.01	.11	-.18	-.13	.01	-.22	-.03
IV	-.05	.08	-.08	.96	-.05	.12	-.05	.18	-.08	.04	.03	-.04	-.06	-.11	-.02
V	-.02	.07	-.0004	-.05	.91	-.09	.01	-.11	.08	.30	.20	-.09	.43	.04	-.07
VI	-.05	-.0003	-.04	.13	-.09	.94	-.12	.04	-.07	-.07	-.15	-.03	-.07	.01	-.10
VII	-.08	-.01	-.08	-.05	.01	-.12	.93	-.07	.04	.09	.08	-.12	-.10	.13	.26
VIII	.02	-.16	-.14	.18	-.11	.04	-.07	.93	-.08	-.18	-.16	.17	-.07	.05	.18
IX	-.09	.02	-.01	-.08	.08	-.07	.04	-.08	.93	.12	-.03	-.06	-.07	-.04	-.03
X	-.13	.11	.11	.05	.31	-.07	.09	-.18	.12	.89	.09	-.11	-.08	-.02	-.12
XI	.04	.30	-.19	.-3	.20	-.15	.08	-.15	-.03	.08	.92	-.15	-.01	.19	-.09
XII	-.08	-.12	-.13	-.05	-.09	-.04	-.13	.18	-.07	-.11	-.16	.89	-.08	.16	-.02
XIII	-.09	.04	.01	-.06	.44	-.07	-.11	-.07	-.07	-.08	-.01	-.07	.88	-.05	.02
XIV	.11	-.14	-.23	-.11	.04	.01	.14	.05	-.04	-.02	.19	.16	.05	.88	.09
XV	-.12	-.13	-.03	-.02	-.07	-.11	.27	.19	-.03	-.12	-.09	-.02	.02	-.09	.87

Table 31 presents the correlations between the clusters based on the correlation of the raw cluster score with the estimated score. The table indicates that, although the clusters do not demonstrate orthogonality relative to each other, they indicate a great deal of independence. The least independence observed is in the correlation between Clusters 13 and 5.

Seventy-three gatekeepers were used in the initial cluster analysis. Inspection of the three-dimensional subspaces revealed that only 43 of the gatekeepers were plotted. An arbitrary cutoff for plotting variables on the spatial dimensions in the B C TRY System demands that .8000 of the total communality which the variable has in the sample space must be committed to one of the three-dimensional subspaces in order for it to be plotted. An additional 15 gatekeepers were placed in the 15 clusters by manually plotting them in the subspaces. The decision for placing a gatekeeper manually in a cluster involved several criteria: (1) the gatekeeper had to have a factor coefficient equal to or greater than .2500 with the cluster, (2) the gatekeeper had to have at least 30 per cent of his total communality committed to the cluster, and (3) the gatekeeper had to fit into the cluster on the basis of his position relative to other members of the cluster on the three-dimensional subspace; that is, his coordinates had to place him in the cluster on the basis of his location on a plane.

Fifteen gatekeepers were not placed into any of the 15 clusters because they failed to meet the above criteria. Five of the 15 gatekeepers are excluded from the remainder of the analysis.

Even though they were suggested by subjects in the gatekeeping system as good persons to contact, were known to the Spanish community, and occupied positions indicative of potential resources, they were not used or contacted by members of the gatekeeping system. Three of them had total communalities of only .06, one had a total communality of .07, and the fifth member to be excluded had a score of only .12. A total communality of .12 could be meaningful if it were concentrated in one cluster space, but in this case it was distributed over the 15 dimensions in such a manner that no significant partial communalities with any one cluster resulted. The five excluded cases are uninteresting in view of the fact that a negligible amount of their variation is accounted for by the 15 clusters which were identified.

Eight of the 15 gatekeepers who were not placed in any of the clusters are interesting and must be examined more closely. Table 32 presents the total and partial communalities for the eight gatekeepers in relation to the 15 clusters. The names in the table are fictitious, and the title "Cosmopolites" will be discussed in the following chapter. Inspection of the table indicates that although the gatekeepers have fairly high total communalities, the lowest being .31, their partial communalities, that is the variation determined by individual clusters, is distributed over the 15 clusters in such a fashion that more than one cluster could be said to account for the variation of the gatekeeper. Even though these gatekeepers may have rather large partial communalities relative to one of the clusters, inspection of the geometric configurations of the clusters indicated that they were on the "edge" of a

TABLE 32

EIGHT NON-MEMBER GATEKEEPERS

THE COSMOPOLITES

	Alonso	Carlos	Jose	Demetrio	Armando	Irene	Erasmus	Benito
				Total Communalities				
	.59	.37	.39	.39	.36	.63	.31	.47
				Partial Communalities				
Clusters								
I	.005	.0008	.05	.0000	.02	.02	.01	.01
II	.04	.16	.01	.01	.02	.01	.003	.02
III	.01	.02	.01	.04	.03	.01	.002	.06
IV	.006	.08	.007	.0003	.02	.003	.01	.02
V	.03	.009	.0005	.002	.05	.15	.07	.08
VI	.05	.03	.002	.06	.03	.004	.06	.02
VII	.002	.008	.05	.0008	.02	.08	.002	.02
VIII	.0001	.01	.04	.001	.002	.04	.03	.01
IX	.007	.006	.0003	.03	.01	.0003	.01	.005
X	.03	.0004	.01	.04	.09	.02	.06	.0009
XI	.09	.03	.002	.04	.0006	.09	.0000	.01
XII	.0000	.0000	.09	.02	.01	.002	.004	.02
XIII	.16	.0001	.02	.001	.03	.13	.04	.04
XIV	.002	.009	.02	.04	.01	.008	.002	.03
XV	.007	.0003	.07	.11	.02	.06	.004	.13

cluster space and were located equally well in more than one cluster. The eight gatekeepers, the Cosmopolites, are interesting because of their relatively high total communalities, their relatively low partial communalities, and their subsequent failure to fit into any one cluster.

The Cosmopolites occupy a different position in the gatekeeping system than the other gatekeepers. They have a scope of relationships, relative to gatekeeping activity, which goes beyond the boundaries of any one cluster. Their positions indicate that they occupy leadership positions in the system. A separate analysis of the leadership structure will be presented in Chapter IX. Leadership has a specific meaning in this study, for leadership is dominance in terms of the resourcefulness of the gatekeepers; they are more accessible than the other gatekeepers.

It is possible, on the basis of cluster homogeneity to explain the relationships between the clusters and the eight gatekeepers presented in Table 32. The partial communalities of each of the eight gatekeepers will be discussed. Only those partial communalities will be considered which are relatively high in relation to the total array of each gatekeeper's partial communalities. For instance, if a gatekeeper has partials on two clusters which account for over 50 per cent of his total communality, his relation to only those two clusters will be discussed. If he has partials with other clusters which are nearly equal to those observed with the two clusters, the nearly equal partials will be included in the discussion.

Gatekeeper Alonso exhibits a partial communality of .16 with Cluster XIII, and also shares .09 with Cluster XI. Thus, Clusters XIII and XI account for approximately 42 per cent of Alonso's total communality of .59. The variation exhibited by Alonso is based chiefly on these two clusters. In more specific terms, most of the citations originated by, or directed to, Alonso are related to members of Cluster XIII and XI. Carlos has partial communalities of .16 and .08 with Clusters II and IV respectively, accounting for about 65 per cent of his total communality of .37. Jose has .09 and .07 partial communalities with Clusters XII and XV, consuming 41 per cent of his total communality.

Demetrio has a relatively high total communality, but it is shared by five clusters: Cluster VI, .06; Cluster III, .04; Cluster X, .04; Cluster XI, .04; and Cluster XIV, .04, controlling a total of 56 per cent of his total variation in the sample space. Thirty nine per cent of Armando's total variation is taken up by Clusters V and X. Irene has partial communalities of .15, .13, .09, and .08 with Clusters V, XI, XIII, and VII respectively. Although Clusters V and XI accounted for a sufficient portion of her total communality to meet the criteria, the relatively high partials with Clusters XIII and VII suggest that the clusters be considered. The four clusters account for about 71 per cent of her total communality. Sixty one per cent of Erasmus's total communality is located in Cluster V with .07, Cluster VI with .06, and Cluster X with .06 partial communalities. Benito has scores of .13 with Cluster XV, .08 with Cluster V, and .06 with Cluster III, which comprises 57 per cent of his total communality.

The above are examples of eight gatekeepers who are functionally related to a comparatively broad range of the total gatekeeper sample. They are unique elements in the sample, and their clique ties and functions will be discussed extensively in Chapter IX.

Only two of the 73 gatekeepers have not been discussed at this point. Felipe and Bonifacio each had a total communality of only .05, which means that very little of the variation which occurred for them was determined by anything uncovered in the sample space. They do not cite, nor are they cited by, members of the system in relation to the gatekeeping functions which they perform. Bonifacio and Felipe are unique elements in our sample, unique in the sense that they carry on gatekeeping activity in isolation from the members of the gatekeeping system. They will be discussed in Chapter IX as examples of persons who do not rely on the system of gatekeepers for support in the process of gatekeeping.

CHAPTER VII

THE GATEKEEPER CLIQUES

The cliques of gatekeepers are composed of persons who occupy a variety of occupational, educational, and economic statuses in the community. Each clique is described in this chapter. The occupational roles of the clique members, voluntary associations relevant to the Spanish community, and the gatekeeping functions in which they participate are carefully delineated.

It must be recalled that the sole criterion used in selecting the clique members was the use which persons make of each other in the process of gatekeeping. It will be seen that some are also related to each other by bonds of friendship, by occupational associations, and through inter-institutional channels of communication. These ties were not influential in the analytic method which was used to select the cliques, but it will be seen that these associations are significant elements in determining clique membership.

The names of persons used here are fictitious and are the same names which were assigned to subjects in Chapter VI on the discussion of cluster analysis. The names of voluntary and community organizations are also fictitious. The titles assigned to the cliques are based on the functions which characterize each clique. The members of each clique are given a surname which is the title of an abbreviation of the title of the clique. The maze of interrelations and functions which are traced for the members of the cliques present the reader with a complicated text, but the accounts of clique activity describe how the gatekeeping system actually operates in the community.

THE VOICE OF THE COMMUNITY

The Voice of the Community is distinguished by its unique opportunity to reach out to the Spanish community through the use of mass media. The three members of the clique include Elvira, Andres, and Dario. Elvira the Voice is the personal secretary of Andres the Voice who owns and operates a radio station in the community. Elriva takes over many responsibilities for Andres the Voice, and personally attends to the needs of many of the people who contact Andres' office for assistance.

Andres the Voice not only owns the radio station but also heads a large Spanish organization, the Spanish Service Society, which provides social activities, insurance benefits, and a credit agency for the Spanish community.

Dario the Voice, the third member of the clique to be interviewed, conducts a daily broadcast over Andres' radio station. The program provides the Spanish named community with advice and information on a broad spectrum of concerns. Advice may be given on current entertainment in the city, information on financial investments, cautions against questionable sales schemes, the importance of education, opinions on political issues, and a host of other current matters. Dario the Voice is also co-owner of a large furniture store which directs a major portion of its business toward Spanish-Americans. He is the only member of the Voice of the Community to participate in organizational activity oriented towards Spanish surnamed persons. He is active in the Scholarship and Loan Association which raises funds to assist Spanish-Americans who are seeking formal education beyond high school.

The social network in the Voice of the Community is based on interrelations framed within Andres the Voice's organization in which the members hold positions. The clique is reinforced by the personal friendship which exists between the members. The areas in which the Voice of the Community help Spanish surnamed persons include the worker role, the buyer role, the welfare client role, the organization member role, the legal role, and the mass media consumer role. The clique is distinguished by the wide array of gatekeeping contexts it is involved in as a group, for no other clique exhibits involvement in more than three role contexts. It is also characterized by its independence from other cliques and from influential members in the gatekeeping system.

Participation in the worker role is supported by the fact that through the radio station and the Spanish Service Society information on available jobs is accumulated. Elvira and Andres are contacted by employers who need common laborers, and Andres hires only Spanish-Americans to operate two ballrooms which are owned by the Spanish Service Society. Dario the Voice provides additional support, for through connections in the furniture business he receives information about job openings for unskilled workers. Furthermore, Dario employs individuals in his furniture store on a short-term basis for moving furniture and for the repair of used appliances taken in on trades.

A great deal of information on buying such items as appliances, furniture, automobiles, and clothing is broadcast through the radio station. Advice on buying various articles is also given personally by the members of the Voice of the Community when they are contacted by the Spanish surnamed seeking such information. It should be noted that the radio station itself, which includes Andres the Voice's office, is located in a downtown area which has a high proportion of Spanish persons, and many persons come seeking information and help in various areas of life activity. The clique is also active in assisting persons with loans. Andres directs a credit union and is in the position to make funds available to Spanish surnamed persons.

Activity in the welfare client role is facilitated by Andres the Voice's Spanish Service Society, which provides limited emergency aid to needy families. The members of the Voice of the Community have personal contacts in the Welfare Department which they feel are beneficial in the procurement of emergency aid. Andres pointed out, however, that many who come to them are not eligible for public welfare and that his organization is not equipped to provide emergency aid except in the form of small gifts. Consequently, many who come in dire need cannot be provided for.

The Voice of the Community emphasizes organizational participation and primarily promotes the Spanish Service Society. The organization is popular with persons who cannot speak English, and it is known for its promotion of the Spanish culture. The stress on organizational involvement is furthered by Dario the Voice's affiliation with the Scholarship and Loan Association. Dario served as a past president of the organization and feels that it plays an important role in helping the Spanish surnamed community.

The clique is also active in helping persons who need legal assistance. Andres the Voice's attorneys, for instance, have helped Spanish-Americans who were unable to pay fees for legal counsel. A great deal of the clique's activity in this area is related to helping foreign-born Spanish persons attain citizenship. Andres not only helps in legal matters attendant to citizenship but also conducts citizenship classes to promote eligibility for citizenship. Dario is a notary public and is frequently used to interpret and process legal documents. Most of the help in the legal role seems to be related to civil matters, dealing with citizenship problems, and processing or interpretation of legal documents, rather than handling criminal charges which have been filed against Spanish-Americans.

The area of major activity for the Voice of the Community is that of mass media consumption. The radio station provides opportunity for the clique to influence the attitudes and opinions of the minority group. This influence has already been pointed out in regard to the other role contexts in which the clique operates.

The Voice of the Community also becomes an arm of political opinion formation, and Andres the Voice is proud of the fact that he belongs to no political party but has a party of his own which makes its own decisions on issues and candidates. The clique has a potent opportunity to be a key voice for Spanish-Americans in the community.

Individually the members of the clique participate in role contexts other than those common to the members of the group. Elvira the Voice is in close contact with a neighborhood priest and helps persons who have religious needs. She also assists persons who are selling used items, such as, furniture, appliances, automobiles, and homes. Not only is she able to assist in the advertisement of the articles, but she helps in establishing the value of an item and contacts persons she thinks might be interested in purchasing the article. Elvira promotes activity in the saver role through the use of the savings plans included in Andres the Voice's credit union which is a part of the Spanish Service Society. She refers persons who are in need of medical care to medical centers and makes appointments for Spanish persons who are unfamiliar with modern medical facilities. She is contacted by persons who have neighbors in need of medical attention, and in such cases she makes arrangements for their treatment. Elvira the Voice promotes medical care and distributes health literature in the Spanish Service Society.

Andres the Voice engages in the renter role but does so primarily because his radio station is used to advertise low cost rental units. He pointed out that he did not personally participate in this particular role. He actively promotes religious participation for Spanish-Americans and feels it is a key element in the Spanish culture which must be maintained. Like Elvira, he encourages the use of savings plans through the Spanish Service Society's facilities.

Dario the Voice helps persons who want to buy homes, and he has several friends in the real estate business whom he contacts. Spanish persons call on Dario and ask him for advice on the problems of home ownership. He also contacts banks for information on mortgage foreclosures, for he feels that they often present opportunities for good buys. Dario is frequently contacted by persons involved in the seller role. They want him to purchase their used furniture, but Dario only advises them on the use of want ads and helps them establish the value of the furniture which they want to sell.

The Voice of the Community represents a small clique of persons involved in many areas of gatekeeping. All of the members are of Spanish descent and have unusual opportunities to reach out to members of their own ethnic group who need help in the process of acculturation. The organization forms a buffer between the individual rooted in Spanish culture, and the unrelenting demands of the urban community.

THE CHAMPIONS OF THE POOR

The Champions of the Poor are characterized by the strategic use they make of their occupational positions to provide for the poor with whom they come into contact. The members are Lola, June, and Donald. None of the members of this clique are of Spanish descent; however, Lola is married to a Spanish-American and identifies closely with the group.

Lola Champion is a lay counsellor at the Retraining Corps. Her occupation brings her into personal contact with persons from the low socioeconomic group, who are receiving basic skills training under government auspices. She is in daily contact with unskilled persons who are seeking an opportunity to re-equip themselves for life in a technological world and who are facing the many problems associated with unemployment in an urban complex. It should be noted that a majority of the trainees in the Retraining Corps are of Spanish descent.

Lola Champion is active in two local Spanish organizations, the Southern Colorado Club, and the Rebeldes. The Southern Colorado Club defines its purpose as one of helping Spanish surnamed persons originating from southern Colorado who find themselves in dire economic straits in the city. The primary purpose of the Rebeldes is to apply pressure on the political system to alleviate perceived discriminatory practices against persons of Spanish origin.

June Champion is on the administrative staff of a labor union. Her office is in the union building and she deals with Spanish-Americans who are seeking work in the community. Most of the people, some of them newcomers to the city, who come to June's office are seeking jobs, but they also present her with other problems which they face as unemployed persons. June Champion does not hold membership in any Spanish organizations, but she often attends meetings of the Rebeldes.

Donald Champion is a successful attorney in the community and is also a member of the state legislature. He is known for his willingness to assist in legal problems faced by minority group members, including both civil and criminal matters. He is also known to help those who are unable to pay for professional legal aid. Donald is a member of the Democratic party, and Lola and June are also active participants in the political affairs of the party. Donald is not a member of any of the local Spanish organizations.

The major functions of the Champions of the Poor are concentrated in the welfare client role and the legal role. June and Lola, by virtue of their occupational locations, are in touch with persons who lack sufficient means to meet daily bodily needs. Lola and June have contacts in the Welfare Department, Salvation Army, and charitable religious organizations to which they often appeal, and Donald has working relationships with most charitable organizations in the community. Lola also appeals to the Southern Colorado Club for emergency aid to supply needy persons.

The Champions of the Poor are active in providing Spanish-Americans with legal aid. Lola Champion carries out this function through her friendship with Donald Champion. She contacts him for various civil and criminal charges brought against Spanish surnamed persons whom she meets on the job and in the Southern Colorado Club. June Champion uses legal resources with which she is familiar through her position in the labor union to assist persons in the legal role.

The Champions of the Poor are more often involved in dealing with criminal charges in the legal role than are the members of the Voice of the Community.

None of the members of the Champions of the Poor are active in the house buyer, seller, loans, saver, or checking account roles. The clique members did not indicate that they were asked for help in these areas, unless there were legal problems related to a loan or a purchase which had already been made.

The clique members are active, individually, in other areas. Lola Champion is involved as a gatekeeper in the roles of renter, public housing, buyer, patient, and organizations, but these activities are carried on outside of any clique membership uncovered here. June Champion and Lola Champion are helpful to persons seeking jobs, and their occupational positions enhance their usefulness in this area for Spanish-Americans who come to them. Donald Champion is active in helping Spanish surnamed persons in the patient role. His effort here is related to helping persons who have legal difficulties in the hospitalization process, such as admitting family members to a mental institution or establishing eligibility for free medical care at City Hospital.

The Champions of the Poor are unique because they give help in the client and deviant roles. Although the occupations of Lola and June are not directly related to these role contexts, they take advantage of their contact with persons who are having problems in these areas and, thus, serve as links to community resources. Donald cooperates with them, and uses his professional and political status to help persons of Spanish descent.

THE STAPLE CIRCLE

There must be those who look after the indigent, and such are the members of the Staple Circle. The clique members are Janet, Inez, Bridget, Faith, Ethan, Morgan, Estella, and Cindy. Janet Staple, an administrative staff member of Social Work Services for the city, is the central figure in the clique. She has been employed as a social worker in the city for over ten years and is well known among Spanish-Americans. Although she is of non-Spanish descent, Janet participates in the Scholarship and Loan Association, and the Hispanos Veterans, an organization of Spanish surnamed persons who have served in the Armed Forces.

Inez Staple, a second member of the clique, was brought to the city from a small rural Spanish community by her husband, who later left her with ten children and no financial resources. Inez manages to eke out an existence on a monthly check from the Welfare Department. She had no education or skills to enable her to grapple with the unyielding demands of modern society. In spite of these handicaps, Inez participates in adult education courses, Parent Teacher Association, and is an officer in Awake Welfare Women, an organization ofmothers on welfare. Awake Welfare Women attempts to help others on welfare, keeps them informed of current issues relating to their well-being, and acts as a liaison to the staff of the Welfare Department. Inez has become a resource for others who live around her in the Humble Village, a low-cost public housing area.

Bridget Staple is also an officer in Awake Welfare Women and is attempting to find answers to the daily problems of providing for a family through public welfare funds. Bridget is not of Spanish descent but has become a key contact for the many Spanish persons who live in her neighborhood, Comfort Quarters, another public housing area. Bridget is active in the Housekeepers, an organization established by the Public Housing Administration to deal with neighborhood problems.

Faith Staple also takes advantage of her situation as a dependent mother faced with rearing a family without the financial or emotional support of a father. She lives in Comfort Quarters and has become a voice to the community leaders for those who are unfortunate enough to find themselves dependent on the welfare arrangements of an impersonal bureaucracy. Faith is also active in the Housekeepers.

Ethan Staple, a social worker, is the assistant coordinator of a community center. He is not of Spanish descent but carries on his activity in a predominantly Spanish neighborhood. The purpose of the community center is to assist persons in the neighborhood with recreational activities, mediate in neighborhood conflicts, and act as a resource service for persons experiencing various problems in the city. Ethan is not active in any of the Spanish organizations in the community.

Morgan Staple, of non-Spanish descent, is active as a leader in the Housekeepers. He lives in Comfort Quarters and works closely with Faith. Although he does not participate in any Spanish organizations, Spanish surnamed persons in Comfort Quarters call on him for help with their problems.

Estella Staple is a leader in Awake Welfare Women and represents the organization's efforts in Harbor Homes, a public housing area. She is also active in the Housekeepers. It is interesting to trace the relationships which exist between the members of the Staple Circle who are not professional social workers. Morgan and Estella are the most isolated members in the group, for Morgan reported that the only member of the group which he contacted was Faith, and Estella indicated that she communicated only with Bridget. The other three members, Faith, Bridget, and Inez, are all in contact with each other and interact frequently in the process of gatekeeping.

Cindy Staple, the final member of the clique to be discussed, is an Anglo social worker on the staff of the Social Service Department in City Hospital. She does not participate in any of the local Spanish organizations, but in her position she meets people of Spanish descent daily who come to her because of health problems.

The Staple Circle is essentially concerned with providing the basic necessities for life to Spanish-Americans in the urban community, and, as a clique, they operate only in the welfare client role. Janet, Ethan, and Cindy hold formal positions in the social structure which give them access to private as well as public welfare facilities. Their occupational prescriptions make communication with these organizations a routine expectation.

The rest of the members of the clique serve as links between Janet, Ethan, and Cindy and the Spanish-American community in fulfilling requests in the client role. Inez Staple, for instance, is a close friend of Janet Staple, and when people bring problems, such as the lack of sufficient food or clothing, to Inez she contacts Janet as a resource for possible solutions. Bridget, Estella, and Faith all contact Ethan and Janet in a similar manner. Faith Staple also uses the influence of Cindy Staple to help persons who come to her with medical problems. Morgan Staple is the farthest removed in the chain of relationships and did not indicate any contact with the professional social workers in the Staple Circle. Instead, he uses Faith Staple as his link to resources in the client role.

Janet Staple and Cindy Staple are concerned with helping persons in other role contexts. They are used as resources for jobs and have contacts with private employers, the State Employment Service, and community vocational centers which they rely on. They are also called on to locate low cost housing, both public and private, for persons at low income levels. Their primary source for private rental units is the Welfare Department, which keeps lists of low cost, private rental units. They have access to information on the availability of public housing units through the Public Housing Authority.

Janet and Cindy participate in promoting religious activity. In counselling disorganized families, they use the support of clergymen and thus establish relationships between the families and the church. Janet often advises Spanish persons on participation in the buyer role and attempts to point out indicators of unscrupulous sales schemes. She does this on a personal basis, but she also lectures to groups, such as Awake Welfare Women, on how to shop wisely in the urban community. She carries on similar advice-giving activity in the loans role. Cindy also becomes involved with persons who need loans, but in her case such persons are usually faced with medical bills which they cannot afford to pay. She indicated that there simply were no resources to help people who have large debts because of high medical costs.

Cindy and Janet are called upon to help people in the patient role, and Janet makes use of her association with Cindy to accommodate medical needs. Cindy, through her position in City Hospital, has contacts with many medical facilities in the city and asks them to extend medical care to persons who cannot afford the cost of treatment. Awake Welfare Women also contacts Janet and Cindy as gatekeepers for legal problems. They become involved with persons facing criminal charges and civil problems, and they are often active in cases where civil rights have been violated. They have access to several Anglo attorneys and have contacts in the Parole and Probation Department and the City Police Department. Cindy and Janet operate as gatekeepers in a wide variety of role contexts, and in each of these roles they are contacted by persons who have come to know them through their positions as social workers.

Ethan Staple, outside of his clique participation in the client role, is primarily used as a resource in the organizational and the communications roles. He furthers organizational activity by encouraging participation in the community center's activities, and he is also active in advocating Awake Welfare Women as an organizational avenue for mothers with dependent children. Ethan's effort in communications is centered on discussing articles and programs with

Awake Welfare Women and advising the neighborhood about the products of the mass media which he feels would be beneficial to them.

Bridget, Faith, and Estella display similar gatekeeping functions in relation to roles other than the client role. They are contacted by persons looking for jobs, but the only source which they have to pursue is the State Employment Service. They are used as gatekeepers by persons who want to rent dwellings in the public housing system, and each of them is familiar with the managers of the public housing areas in which they live, as well as with persons in the central office. Bridget, Estella, and Faith are leaders in Awake Welfare Women and promote its organizational activities. Within the organization they collect information useful to mothers in buying and become vehicles for the transmission of information on places for purchasing household and family items.

The trio is called on by families who need help in the patient role. The calls generally include the need for transportation to medical facilities, fears due to unfamiliarity with the operation of the modern medical system, general information about availability of low cost care, and the procedure for initiating an appointment with a clinic or a hospital. The gatekeepers attempt to arrange for transportation through a voluntary service organization, they encourage Spanish surnamed persons to use the medical care program at City Hospital, and they make appointments for those who are unfamiliar with these urban procedures.

Bridget, Faith, and Estella are able to provide advice in the legal role for persons who have been arrested, who need legal assistance for marital problems and financial entanglements, or who face problems of ethnic discrimination. They call on attorneys in the American Civil Liberties Union to help with these problems. As leaders in Awake Welfare Women, these members of the Staple Circle are important vehicles for the distribution and interpretation of productions of the newspapers, magazines, and radio and television stations.

Inez Staple helps in the public housing role and encourages people with low incomes to apply for admittance. She tries to help them obtain quarters through Eduardo who is the manager of Humble Village. Inez is also an enthusiastic supporter of the church and spends a great deal of time working on religious programs for children. She also attempts to involve people in Awake Welfare Women and the Housekeepers.

Morgan Staple is a gatekeeper in Comfort Quarters, and is mainly concerned with helping teenagers. He attempts to locate part-time jobs for them through the area housing manager and the staff members in the Denver Housing Authority. Morgan works closely with the Juvenile Probation Department, and he goes out of his way to establish friendship with neighborhood boys and girls on probation. The Probation Department has confidence in him and contacts him for help in dealing with juvenile probationers who fail to live up to their probation agreements.

The Staple Circle provides an interesting example of a gatekeeping clique. Three of the members, Janet, Cindy, and Ethan, are professional social workers who are occupationally engaged in working with the poor. Bridget, Estella, Inez, and Faith belong to those who must rely on the gratuities of the community for support, but they have applied their talents and energies in alleviating the burdens of the poor. They use the social workers in the clique, as well as other persons in urban institutions, as links to resources for help. Morgan relies only on Faith in the clique, although he also has outside contacts in the Probation Department and in Public Housing. The Staple Circle exhibits relationships which cross the lay-professional dividing line in the gatekeeping process.

THE REDEEMERS

The Redeemers include Pedro, Magdalena, and Rev. Jacobo. Pedro Redeemer is the key person in the group around which the other two members are gathered. He is the field supervisor in the boys probation department in Juvenile Hall. He has worked in Juvenile Hall for many years, and, although age has curtailed his participation in minority group activities, he is well known in the Spanish community. Pedro is also the president of a credit union in his church, Cathedral Credit, which serves Spanish surnamed persons. Pedro has no other organizational affiliations.

Magdalena Redeemer was a secretary at the Retraining Corps and, consequently, came into contact with people who came to the center to learn basic skills and receive job training. She is the granddaughter of Pedro and maintains close ties with him. She holds membership in Hispanos Veterans, a Spanish veterans organization, and participates in Sup and Say, which consists of Spanish surnamed persons, both professionals and non-professionals, who meet periodically for noon luncheons to discuss problems of the ethnic group.

Rev. Jacobo Redeemer is in charge of the parish in which Pedro and Magdalena are members and he has served in that position for almost thirty years. Under his guidance the parish has developed Cathedral Credit and has established a clinic for low cost medical care. Jacobo, like Pedro and Magdalena, is of Spanish descent.

The Redeemers attempt to rescue those who have fallen into difficulty legally, financially, or occupationally. Pedro Redeemer deals with many young boys who pass through Juvenile Hall and need jobs. Although he has some outside contacts such as hotels and restaurants which occasionally hire teenagers, he relies primarily on Magdalena Redeemer. She has contacts within the Retraining Corps which are helpful in procuring work, and she uses her membership in the Hispanos Veterans to explore additional job possibilities. Rev. Jacobo is useful in the worker role through contacts he has in his parish with Spanish persons in construction and other businesses in the city. Many persons come to Rev. Jacobo when they have difficulty in finding jobs, and through his contacts he can help some.

Pedro Redeemer can assist in loan procurements because of his office in Cathedral Credit, and he is used by Magdalena to help others in this area. Pedro and Rev. Jacobo are known in the community through their long association with the church and its credit agency and are frequently contacted for help in the loans role. Although neither has control over the actual issuance of a loan, they are presumably influential on the board which approves or disapproves loan requests. Magdalena Redeemer came into contact with many persons needing additional funds while she was employed at the Retraining Corps, and she served as a link for them to the credit union through her grandfather.

Pedro Redeemer meets people with legal problems daily, and he is familiar, through his court activities, with attorneys who can provide assistance in legal matters. However, outside of the help he gives to parolees and their families through his formal position, it appears that his legal assistance is confined to minor civil matters, such as procurement of birth certificates and interpretation of legal documents.

Magdalena Redeemer is also contacted by persons with legal problems, but these problems usually involve criminal matters. The contacts result from her former position at the Retraining Corps and her participation in party politics. Magdalena is a useful link here because of her familiarity with local attorneys with whom she has become acquainted through her grandfather and her political party. She is a close friend of a state representative, and includes in her contacts Attorneys Armando Cosmos, Demetrio Cosmos, Miguel Defender, Manuel Defender and Donald Champion. These attorneys are all members of the gatekeeping system which was investigated in this study.

Rev. Jacobo Redeemer, as a parish priest, is frequently approached by families encountering legal difficulties. He calls Pedro Redeemer for information in this area but also uses Donald

Champion as a resource. Donald served as a legal counsel for the parish credit union.

The mutual activities of The Redeemers are related to the network of clique associations, but individually the members exhibit additional interests as gatekeepers. Pedro Redeemer assists persons who seek religious satisfactions, and, because of his position in Cathedral Credit, he encourages Spanish-Americans to use savings accounts. Magdalena Redeemer is active as a helper in the buyer role, primarily in assisting young women who come from deprived areas in the discreet use of modern department stores and clothing shops. She also promotes organizational activity, particularly in the Hispanos Veterans and in her political party.

Rev. Jacobo is involved in a much wider array of gatekeeping activities than Pedro or Magdalena. He promotes the use of public housing for church members who are faced with living on a marginal income, and he had a close working relationship with the former director of Public Housing. He encourages church members to open savings accounts in Cathedral Credit and emphasizes the use of religious facilities and services. Rev. Jacobo encounters people in need of medical attention, and he has the resource of a low-cost medical clinic which is affiliated with the parish. He is also an influential link for Spanish-Americans in the use and interpretation of the mass media and promotes this activity through oral announcements and the printed word.

The Redeemers concentrate on activities which tend to lead individuals to a better adjustment in the community. They are concerned with helping them out of legal difficulties which jeopardize their well-being, obtaining capital for improvement of their economic situation, and securing employment for them.

THE CITY FACE

The members of the City Face are Nina, Lucas, and Rev. Daniel. Nina Face was formerly a secretary at City Hospital which treats many impoverished Spanish surnamed persons because of its city sponsored program for inexpensive medical care. During the fieldwork phase of the research project, she resigned her position at the hospital to accept a secretarial appointment on the Civic Mediation Board. The Civic Mediation Board is a working arm of the city government, and its purpose is to promote good relations between ethnic groups in the community. Nina resides in Harbor Homes and participates in the Housekeepers, but she is not active in any of the local Spanish organizations. However, she is personally acquainted with many of the Spanish-American leaders in the city and associates with them frequently.

Lucas Face was formerly employed by the city as a sanitation inspector, but recently he was appointed as an assistant to the director of the Civic Mediation Board. Lucas is active in the Scholarship and Loan Association, and Rebeldes, and the Sup and Say Club.

Rev. Daniel Face serves a local parish which is located in a predominantly Spanish-American neighborhood. He appeared to have no close ties with the leadership structure among the Spanish surnamed, except through Nina who is a member of his parish and a close personal friend. Although Rev. Daniel does not participate in Spanish organizational endeavors, in his parish he promotes programs which bring him into contact with Spanish persons who lack urban skills. For instance, he operates a breadline which provides daily noon lunches at no cost, and he conducts adult education classes for those who have had limited educational opportunities.

The City Face exerts most of its energy in the worker, client, and communications roles. Nina Face is frequently contacted by persons who are seeking employment, and she is also used by lay counselors in the Retraining Corps as a possible source for jobs. Nina attempts to help through Alonso Cosmos, the leader of the Rebeldes, who has resources for jobs. She also uses a personal contact in the State Employment Service.

Lucas Face is perhaps best equipped to deal with formal employment agencies through his lengthy career in city services. He has personal contacts in the State Civil Service Commission, the State Employment Service, and Union Labor Center, and Career Service for City Employees. Nina also contacts Lucas, but most of the people coming to her with job requests seem to be unskilled, whereas Lucas appears to deal with Spanish-Americans who have job skills and belong to a higher socioeconomic group.

Rev. Daniel Face is confronted with parishioners who are unemployed, and he uses the State Employment Service to help them. His opportunities to secure jobs from this source are enhanced because the father of a fellow priest was employed there for a number of years, and through him useful contacts in the State Employment Service were established Rev. Daniel's parish also maintains lists of domestic jobs, and this information is passed on to people looking for this kind of work.

Nina Face is active in assisting persons in the welfare client role. She is often approached by families in Harbor Homes, where she lives. She calls on social workers with whom she is personally acquainted and through them attempts to meet the needs of the poor. Nina also contacts Rev. Daniel for donations to alleviate emergency needs which Spanish persons encounter.

Lucas Face is contacted directly by persons who need help in providing the basic necessities for themselves. A great deal of this activity grew out of his occupation in the sanitation service. His work brought him into direct contact with families in substandard dwellings suffering extreme poverty, and his name is remembered by this population. Lucas is a personal friend of Juan, an administrator in the Welfare Department, and of Thurstone, a leader in the Salvation Army, and thus Lucas has access to their assistance.

Rev. Daniel Face conducts most of his services in the welfare client role through his parish activities. The help which he is able to provide, outside of the breadline, is limited to small donations. He often calls on Nina for resources in this role context.

The Civic Mediation Board provides Nina with the opportunity to operate in the mass media consumer role. She frequently relays information, related to the mass media, to members of Awake Welfare Women. She also has the advantage of a close relationship with Irene

Cosmos, the director of the Civic Mediation Board who is immediately concerned with the various arms of communication in the city and their work with different segments of the population. Lucas experiences the same kind of involvement with communications as Irene Cosmos. They also publish pamphlets through the Civic Mediation Board, many of which are aimed at informing the Spanish surnamed community about minority issues.

Rev. Daniel reported that his activity in the mass media consumer role is primarily related to the dispensation of communications from church headquarters rather than with items specifically related to problems which the Spanish surnamed face in the community. Thus, certain types of media are discouraged, on moral grounds, for the congregation's use, literature from church headquarters is distributed, and opinions in regard to legislative action are promoted which are in keeping with the aims of the church.

Nina Face is active in the patient role, and, because of her former position in City Hospital, she is contacted by persons who are seeking medical attention. She uses contacts in the hospital and also calls on the clinic in Rev. Jacobo Redeemer's parish to obtain medical care for Spanish-Americans. Nina also receives requests for advice from people experiencing legal difficulties, especially from parents of juveniles who get into trouble. She relies on two attorneys Miguel Defender and Donald Champion for help in this area.

Lucas Face is active in housing problems. As a sanitation inspector, he was involved with people who were forced to move out of dilapidated dwellings, and he had to arrange housing for them.

This was done through formal relations with the Welfare Department's housing section and Public Housing Authority. He has maintained his relations with these departments and is still contacted by persons who need dwellings. In contrast to his activity in the worker role, Lucas, in the dweller role, deals chiefly with persons who have low incomes. He also participates in the organizational role and promotes membership in the Scholarship and Loan Association, the Rebeldes, the Hispanos Veterans, and the Sup and Say Club. Lucas gets involved, as a gatekeeper, in the legal role and uses the following attorneys: Armando Cosmos, Candido Defender, Manuel Defender, and Demetrio Cosmos. He also has personal contacts in the Parole Department and in the County Sheriff's Office.

Rev. Daniel Face is intimately involved in providing for the religious needs of Spanish-Americans. The parish has an aggressive family counselling program and a large Sunday School. Frequent canvasses of the neighborhood are made by the parish. Rev. Daniel is contacted by persons who want to buy inexpensive clothing and furniture. He sends them to a used furniture and clothing store affiliated with the church. He can also issue tickets for free items at the store, when he feels the financial situation demands it. Rev. Daniel encounters families in need of medical care and uses his influence in several denominational hospitals, as well as in Rev. Jacobo Redeemer's clinic. He often confronts situations in which legal help is needed, particularly in dealing with juvenile delinquents. But he stated that he had no resources in the legal role, and referred these problems to Nina.

The City Face is unique because it is closely related to a formal community organization. It presents the Spanish community with a particular view of the city through the efforts of the Spanish surnamed members, Nina and Lucas, and through a priest's informal involvement in the clique.

THE WATCHERS

The Watchers, Alice and Franklin, are non-Spanish, but they represent a charitable organization, House of Mercy, which is well known in the community. Franklin Watcher is the supervisor of caseworkers in the religiously affiliated institution, and Alice Watcher serves as an intake worker. The Watchers concentrate their gatekeeping activity in the patient and welfare client roles. They are contacted by Spanish persons in need of medical attention, and they help through the use of the medical clinic in Rev. Jacobo Redeemer's parish. Alice and Franklin did not indicate that they become personally involved in helping people in the welfare client role beyond referring them to other institutions which provide emergency aid. Although the House of Mercy is defined as a charitable institution, it has limited funds to provide for the many needy people who find their way to its doors.

Alice does not act as a gatekeeper in any other role context, but Franklin is active in several other areas. He assists Spanish-Americans in the worker role. The House of Mercy maintains lists of available domestic positions, so he has direct resource to jobs in this limited area. He is called on by persons seeking homes to rent and is in contact with a private rental agency which can provide some inexpensive units. As supervisor of caseworkers in a religious institution, Franklin is frequently involved in directing people to clergymen for religious help. He also assists persons in the buyer role through a used furniture and clothing store sponsored by the church. Legal problems, involving custody of children and juveniles who have become delinquent, are brought to Franklin, and he refers them to an attorney who is employed by the House of Mercy.

The Watchers are of particular interest because they are well known in the community, and they are contacted for assistance in almost every role context, but the expectations of persons in the community are in conflict with the purpose which the organization has defined for itself. The Watchers are primarily involved in helping children who have become wards of the court through family breakdowns, and they operate as a receiving center for children born out of wedlock. Thus, their gatekeeping activity relates to children, a majority of them of Spanish descent, who have no place in the local community. The minimal assistance offered to other emergent needs of Spanish-Americans, who fall outside of the primary purposes of the House of Mercy, is sometimes interpreted in negative terms by other gatekeepers in the city. There is a lack of awareness of the institution's involvement with children who are, in a sense, unseen by the Spanish leaders or by the broader community. Although the clique is referred to by some as those who only watch, they do provide care for a portion of the Spanish population which is often overlooked.

THE PATRONS

The Patrons has five members of Spanish descent: Elisa, Santiago, Rubel, Ignacio, and Simon. Elisa Patron is a housewife, but she does a great deal of volunteer work at the State Anti-Discrimination Commission. She is active in the Republican party and has been a candidate for the state legislature. The Spanish Senoras, a group interested in finding solutions to the problems which Spanish-Americans face in the city, is under the direction of Elisa. She is also active in the Hispanos Veterans, the Scholarship and Loan Association, Sup and Say, and participates in a number of other community activities.

Santiago Patron is employed in the Office of Economic Opportunity as an assistant to the Governor. Prior to appointment in the Governor's office, he worked as a special investigator for the District Attorney in six southern Colorado counties. Santiago also taught school in southern Colorado. He is an active participant in the Republican party but does not hold membership in any of the Spanish organizations in the city.

Rubel Patron is on the administrative staff ofthe State Anti-Discrimination Commission to which he was appointed under the Republican administration. He was formerly a grade school principal in a rural community near the city. He is a member of the Scholarship and Loan Association and works with Spanish neighborhood youth organizations in the city.

Ignacio Patron works on the field staff of the State Anti-Discrimination Commission. He is a member of the Rebeldes, the Scholarship and Loan Association, and the Hispanos Veterans. Prior to his present position, he was an insurance salesman and sold to the Spanish population in the community.

Simon Patron owns and operates an employment agency in the city. It emphasizes offerings in non-professional areas and has a predominantly Spanish clientele. According to his own report, he is unfamiliar with the Spanish-American leaders and does not hold membership in any of the local Spanish organizations.

As a group, the Patrons engage in gatekeeping only in the worker role. Elisa Patron, as a representative of the Republican party and the Spanish Senoras, is contacted by persons for assistance in the worker role. She promotes her function in the worker role through her contact with Rubel Patron and Santiago Patron, and she indicated no other contacts which she used as resources for job-finding.

Santiago Patron is frequently contacted by Spanish-Americans in need of jobs, particularly persons who are recent to the city from southern Colorado. Through his former roles as inspector for the District Attorney and school teacher, Santiago is known by many persons who migrate to the city hoping to better their economic life chances. According to Santiago, these persons know he is in the Governor's office, and they feel that his position enables him to provide job opportunities for them. He is also contacted by the parents of children who have arrived in the city. The parents are former friends of Santiago and hope that he can help their children become established in the city. Unemployed Spanish persons also come to Santiago's office as a last resort in quest for a job.

Unfortunately, Santiago has not been in the city very long, and he has few personal resources for employment. He has a contact in the State Department of Institutions and in the State Civil Service, but most of the time he simply sends people to the State Employment Service. He does, however, encourage young people without job skills to apply for the program at the Retraining Corps. It appeared that Santiago has many more requests for aid in the worker role than he has resources.

Rubel Patron comes into contact with Spanish surnamed persons who feel they have been discriminated against in the worker role. He is also used by persons moving into the city from the community in which he was a principal prior to his present position. This is often the case with young people who knew Rubel as a principal and have come to seek employment in the urban complex. Rubel uses Simon Patron's employment agency to locate jobs, he is familiar with persons in the State Civil Service, and he also sends people to the Retraining Corps. He has established personal contacts with several employers who have been involved in complaints of discrimination, and Rubel now finds them helpful in placing unemployed persons of Spanish descent.

Ignacio Patron is familiar with many people in the Spanish community because of his past occupation as a salesman. He reported that many of these people who became acquainted with him as a salesman call on him for information about jobs. As a field worker, Ignacio also contacts other persons who are seeking job opportunities. He uses Simon's employment agency and the Hispanos Veterans as resources for jobs. He also calls on Spanish leaders, such as Juan Defender, in the Welfare Department; Erminio Defender, a leader in Hispanos Veterans; and Alonso Cosmos, the head of the Rebeldes, for information they might have on available jobs.

Simon Patron is in daily communication with Spanish-Americans who are unemployed, and he has requests for workers from employers in various occupations, especially those who need day laborers. His agency is located near a substandard residential area, and many poorly clothed Spanish persons can be seen frequenting his business. Simon is anxious to help those who come to him, and he gives them careful instructions on the use of application forms, the selection of clothing appropriate for contronting a particular employer, and also has them rehearse presentations of themselves when he feels they lack this urban skill. Simon, himself, was a grade school dropout, later returned to school for a year of education in a business college, and is now attempting to impress other Spanish surnamed persons with the possibilities of self-advancement which exist in society.

None of the members of the Patrons participate as gatekeepers in the house buyer role, the savings role, or the checking account role. The clique members, however, exhibit a wide variety of other individual gatekeeping activities.

Elisa Patron is contacted by individuals who are interested in renting private homes, apartments, or public housing units. She knows a private realtor, has personal friends on the staff of the

Public Housing Authority, and is a good friend of Jose Cosmos in the Welfare Department. Elisa is also an enthusiast for religious participation, and she is well acquainted with several Catholic and Protestant clergymen whom she feels free to contact when she is confronted by persons with needs in this role. A close relative of Elisa works as a salesman in a used automobile agency, and she sends people who are interested in purchasing private transportation to him. She has friends in two furniture stores who she feels will treat the Spanish fairly, and she encourages people to go there.

When Elisa Patron is called on by Spanish-Americans who face medical emergencies, she contacts physicians for them. In the client role, she uses Jose Cosmos in the Welfare Department or calls on the Hispanos Veterans and the Spanish Senoras for emergency donations.

Elisa feels that the Spanish-Americans could ease many of their urban difficulties if they would unite in organizational efforts, and she promotes her group, the Spanish Senoras, as one step in this direction. She is also contacted by persons in legal difficulties. These problems come to her through friends, relatives, the Spanish Senoras, and persons unknown to her but who know her name through political activity. She depends on Attorney Armando Cosmos, a Republican and former member of the state legislature, personal contacts in the Police Department, the Parole and Probation Department, and Juvenile Hall. Elisa is a housewife, who migrated to the city from a small, southern Colorado community, but she has been able to assume an important role in helping Spanish surnamed persons with the problems they face in the city.

Santiago Patron is contacted for help in the loans role primarily by persons in difficulties because of loans. Many times persons have committed themselves to unwise loan agreements, and when they become aware of their predicament they come to Santiago's office for help. Santiago does little more than give them advice on the use of more scrupulous lending agencies. In his position, he feels he cannot direct people to specific finance institutions. Santiago also gets involved in the patient role, especially in dealing with problems related to the use of state medical institutions and programs. For a short while he served as a liaison between the Governor's office and state institutions, and so he has personal contacts to use with these problems. He is contacted by other Spanish leaders, such as Fernando Gemeinschaft, a printer; Alfredo Toiler, a social worker; and Rubel Patron, in the Anti-Discrimination Commission, as a resource in this area. Santiago also extends effort in passing to Spanish-Americans literature which is intended to better inform them of state level programs aimed at improving the economic status of the minority group.

Rubel Patron is active in the organization member and mass media consumer roles besides his attempts to assist persons having difficulties in the worker role. Although he is a member of the Scholarship and Loan Association and promotes the Hispanos Veterans and the Sup and Say Club, he is primarily interested in establishing community youth organizations. He is active in a youth motivation group which attempts to provide incentive to Spanish-American youth for the pursuit of educational goals. His activity in the communications role is related to the distribution of literature on discrimination, but he also encourages young people to be selective in the use of mass media. He goes out of his way to inform the youth of educational communications which he feels would be beneficial to them.

Ignacio Patron deals with those who feel they have been abused by the Welfare Department. He attempts to alleviate the problems of these persons through Juan Defender in the Welfare Department. Ignacio supports a number of Spanish organizations and introduces persons to the Hispanos Veterans, the Scholarship and Loan Association, the Rebeldes, Awake Welfare Women, the Spanish Senoras, and the Spanish Service Society. He has personal organizational preferences, but he feels that in his position he must promote all organizations available to Spanish-Americans. He is also asked to help with civil and criminal problems. He is personally acquainted with every legal counsel interviewed in this study and feels that all of them are useful in dealing with those who cannot afford the cost of professional legal advice.

Simon Patron is primarily concerned with providing work for persons who come to him, but in discussing jobs he frequently becomes involved in the renter role. He is able to provide some help through his friendship with the managers of privately owned apartments in the neighborhood. He also uses a nearby real estate agency which maintains lists of inexpensive units.

The Patrons are distinguished by their close affiliation with the state political system. Simon, who does not contact the other clique members, is associated with them because they use his employment agency. The other members of the Patrons are in close communication with each other and attempt to use their occupational advantage to facilitate the adjustment of Spanish persons to the urban milieu.

THE GEMEINSCHAFT

The members of the Gemeinschaft concentrate their gatekeeping activity on helping persons who have misfortunes in health, economic well-being, and legal procedures. The members of the Gemeinschaft are Santana, Rev. Isaias, Fernando, and Rev. Solomon. Santana Geimeinshaft is the central figure around which the other members of the clique are gathered. He is a housing field worker for the Welfare Department, and he is an active member of a Spanish-American church. Rev. Isáias Gemeinschaft is the pastor of the church in which Santana holds his membership. Rev. Isaias is active in the Sup and Say Club and the Scholarship and Loan Association. Fernando Gemeinschaft is a printer, who is also active in Rev. Isaias' parish. At the present time he is uninvolved in Spanish organizations, but he has participated in many of their efforts and in the past assisted in the publication of a Spanish newspaper. A few years ago he wrote editorials for a major local newspaper. Rev. Solomon Gemeinschaft is the pastor of a church which belongs to the same denominational body as Rev. Isaias' church. The two churches are located in contiguous neighborhoods in the city.

The church associations play an important role in the clique, for persons who contact the Gemeinschaft for help are members of the churches and of kinship groups within the parishes. In contrast to most of the other gatekeepers discussed here, Santana and Fernando are not used as gatekeepers because of their occupational status but because of their affiliation with a voluntary organization, the church. Rev. Isaias and Rev. Solomon are used by the same social configuration as a part of their professional activity.

The two pastors approach Dr. Antonio In, a Spanish-American, in their efforts to help persons in the patient role, besides other medical professionals whom they know in the community. Santana Gemeinschaft is used as a gatekeeper in the patient role primarily in regard to City Hospital. He is familiar with the city program for medical aid and is personally acquainted with staff members in City Hospital through his position in the Welfare Department. He is used by Fernando and the other clique members of the Gemeinschaft as a link to the medical facilities.

People who are helped by members of the Gemeinschaft in the welfare client role are served by a close knit system. Santana is in constant personal contact with the influentials in the Welfare Department, such as Juan Defender, Jose Cosmos and Erasmus Cosmos. (Erasmus is the director of Welfare Housing.) Rev. Isaias and Fernando call on Santana for emergency aid problems they encounter. Rev. Solomon, however, feels that his needs are usually met simply by going through the formal channels of the welfare system.

The Gemeinschaft calls on Spanish surnamed attorneys when presented with legal difficulties. Santana relies on Demetrio Cosmos and Armando Cosmos; Rev. Solomon calls on Demetrio; Rev. Isaias uses Demetrio; and Fernando contacts Armando Cosmos and Manuel Defender. Rev. Isaias also contacts Alonso Cosmos of the Rebeldes, Pedro Redeemer of Boys Probation, and Alfredo Toiler who is a social worker in the courts. In the case of each gatekeeper, the legal problems presented to them include the entire array of activities related to the legal profession. Apparently the church members, relatives, and friends who rely on the Gemeinschaft do not conceive of the clique members as being useful only in limited areas in the legal role.

Santana, Rev. Solomon, and Rev. Isaias are promoters in the church member role, while Fernando participates in the church but does not emphasize gatekeeping activities in this role. Rev. Solomon, Rev. Isaias, and Fernando concern themselves with the worker role. Rev. Solomon and Rev. Isaias act as mediators between employers and potential employees by going with persons who are applying for jobs or by contacting the employers on their own to enhance the possibilities of job procurement. Fernando, as past publisher of a Spanish newspaper, is known in the community, and he is contacted by employers who need laborers. He is also familiar with possible job opportunities in the community, and he contacts the employers for jobless Spanish-Americans.

Santana and Fernando become involved in the loans role. Santana is familiar with several local banks but also contacts

Rev. Jacobo and Andres to assist persons in getting loans from their credit unions. Fernando stresses organizational activity, and, although he doesn't hold membership in any of the existing Spanish organizations, he is in the process of organizing a new group to represent the Spanish in the city.

Santana spends a great deal of his gatekeeping energies in helping persons who need housing. He participates in the house buyer, renter, and public housing roles. For instance, he helps locate and establish the value of houses for Spanish-Americans who pursue home ownership. Through the Welfare Department, he has access to lists of private rental units, and he is occupationally related to the public housing program of the city.

The Gemeinschaft presents a gatekeeping system which is organized around kinship groups and church affiliations. Their primary efforts are focused on shepherding those who are in distress because of physical illness, economic deprivation, and conflict with the formal rules of modern urban society.

THE CARETAKERS

The Caretakers, Marta, Eduardo, and Thurstone, perform their functions of gatekeeping within formal institutions in the city. Marta Caretaker is the management aide in the office of a public housing project, Humble Village. Her desk is located in the front room of the project office, so she also functions as a receptionist for all who come to the office. The only Spanish organization in which she participates is the Housekeepers which includes management personnel and the residents in the projects. Eduardo Caretaker is the manager of the project in which Marta works. He is active in the Hispanos Veterans and promotes organizations which he feels are useful to the occupants of the housing project, particularly Awake Welfare Women and the Housekeepers. Thurstone Caretaker, the only non-Spanish member of the group, is the Director of Welfare for the Salvation Army. He does not belong to any Spanish-American organizations in the city.

The Caretakers are gatekeepers, as a clique, for persons who need help in the worker role, the patient role, and the client role. They are confronted with persons who qualify only for unskilled labor and who have histories of unemployment. Marta and Eduardo are contacted by people who live in the projects, while Thurstone deals with those who come to the Salvation Army to benefit from its social services. The Salvation Army is used by employers as a source for temporary part-time laborers, so Thurstone is able to offer direct service in the worker role. The Caretakers are familiar with the State Employement Service, and they all have personal acquaintances in the agency whom they contact to find jobs for the people in need who contact them.

The clique is also involved in helping people with health problems. Eduardo considers this to be a part of his function as a staff member in the Public Housing Authority. He uses the free medical care offered in City Hospital to help persons with health problems. Persons who come to Marta often discuss family illnesses, and she makes arrangement for treatment. Thurstone felt that very few persons come to his office for medical problems, but, in the initial interview which accompanies an application for welfare aid, the needs for medical attention often become apparent. Thurstone initiates appointments for sick persons in City Hospital.

The Caretakers are active in the client role as a part of their occupational responsibilities. Many of the occupants in Humble Village are dependent on the Welfare Department for financial resources. They bring complaints to Marta and Eduardo about the Welfare Department, such as their failure to receive the monthly allowance, their need for additional support, or, what they feel, is their unjust treatment in the hands of the Welfare Department. Marta and Eduardo know the social workers who are assigned to each family in Humble Village and generally present the complaints to them first, but they use members of the administrative staff, Juan Defender and Jose Cosmos, for instance, when they fail to receive satisfaction from the social workers. Thurstone, as Director of Welfare in the Salvation Army deals daily with people in the client role, and he also has lines of communication to the other social service agencies in the community.

Thurstone Caretaker's activity as a gatekeeper is confined to the functions which are general to the Caretakers. Marta and Eduardo are, of course, engaged in helping persons who need public housing. Marta, however, also tries to secure private rental units for Spanish surnamed families. She deals with people in Humble Village who, due to improved financial status, are no longer qualified for residence in the Public Housing system. She has contact with several rental agencies which she uses to locate dwellings for these families. Marta participates in the mass media consumer role, but primarily in relation to events affecting Humble Village. The dwellers come to her for information and opinions on changes in regulations affecting their residential status.

Eduardo Caretaker is a gatekeeper in the loans, savings, and checking accounts roles. Prior to his present position, he was employed at a municipal credit union, and has a personal interest in these roles. Spanish persons who are familiar with his past position come to him, he advises them on financial matters, and he contacts finance organizations in their behalf. He is also called on in the legal role in relation to domestic problems of Humble Village families. As manager he is expected to deal with their problems, and, if legal counsel is necessary, Eduardo arranges the services through the Legal Aid Society.

The Caretakers, due to their occupational positions, deal with persons who are experiencing rather severe problems of adjustment to the affluent society. The nature of their gatekeeping functions indicates that they are chiefly involved in taking care of those who have failed in terms of the middle class standards of a modern city.

THE REHABILITATORS

The Rehabilitators are Hilario, Jorge, and Teresina. Hilario and Jorge work at the Retraining Corps and are employed in the rehabilitative program as interne counsellors. The Retraining Corps employs professionally untrained counsellors who can understand and identify with the people in the training program. These counsellors have been strategic in breaking through the wall of life experience which often isolates the trainee from the professional staff.

Jorge Rehab spent most of his time as a teenager in state correctional institutions, but now he applies his skills in helping other people who are unequipped to deal with a modern economy. Hilario Rehab is a recent college graduate but came from a background similar to that of the people he works with in the program. As interne counsellors, Jorge and Hilario meet regularly with assigned trainees, they bolster the morale of the trainees, and they attempt to help them with personal and family problems. Hilario is active in the Hispanos Veterans and the Sup and Say Club. Jorge does not participate directly in any of the Spanish organizations.

Teresina Rehab, the other clique member, is employed by the Public Housing Authority as supervisor of the Housekeepers. Hilario and Jorge depend on her for assistance with housing problems they encounter as interne counsellors. Teresina does not hold membership in any of the Spanish organizations in the community.

The Rehabilitators are involved in the same gatekeeping activities as the Gemeinschaft: the patient role, the welfare client role, and the legal role. The difference between the cliques is the context in which persons come to them for help. The Gemeinschaft deals with persons who are associated with the church and with kinship networks. The Rehabilitators, on the other hand, are gatekeepers in modern professional institutions and deal with persons who are selected as trainees through the manipulations of impersonal bureaucratic machinery.

The trainees do not usually present their personal problems to the interne counsellors; rather, it is the task of the counsellor to uncover situations which would hamper the retraining process.

Jorge and Hilario help persons in the patient, welfare client, and legal roles because problems in these areas most often disrupt the trainees' progress at the center. In the patient role, Jorge and Hilario use existing channels of communcation with the Department of Welfare which give them access to the medical care program at City Hospital. They also rely on the efforts of a physician who is on the staff of the Retraining Corps.

Hilario and Jorge have formal lines of communication to the Department of Welfare which they use to help needy persons, but they contact additional sources for emergency aid. They call Juan Defender and Jose Cosmos directly when persons complain that they have been unjustly denied welfare support, or have problems with personnel in the Welfare Department. They rely on Teresina to fill housing needs of the trainees. Hilario also asks the Hispanos Veterans for donations of food and clothing to give to families suffering severe deprivation.

Teresina Rehab assists people living in public housing who have medical problems. The Public Housing Authority has organizational ties with the Welfare Department, and with City Hospital, but she also relies on Dr. Antonio In for additional support in the patient role. People also come to Teresina for help in the welfare client role, and she calls on the social workers who are assigned to these families. She also contacts influential staff members of the Department of Welfare. She indicated, however, that most of her communication with the Department of Welfare, in relation to the welfare client role, was carried on through the organizational channels.

People frequently ask Teresina Rehab to help them with legal documents which they cannot understand or which they need, such as birth certificates, court notices, and tax forms. Attorney Donald Champion is her primary source for helping these people, but she also uses the Legal Aid Society.

In contrast to Teresina, Jorge and Hilario become involved in both civil and criminal gatekeeping functions in the legal role. They find that some of the trainees are jeopardized by legal infractions which they have committed. But they have also found that if a trainee's case is properly presented, the courts will often be lenient because the trainees are in a rehabilitative program. Jorge is also approached frequently by relatives of Spanish-Americans who get into legal trouble or by bartenders who inform Jorge of his former friends who need legal help. Attorneys Donald Champion, Armando Cosmos, and Alonso Cosmos of the Rebeldes are the resources which Hilario and Jorge depend on. They feel that Donald and Alonso are particularly helpful when the client is unable to pay for legal services.

Outside of the activities common to the clique, Teresina Rehab functions in the renter and public housing roles. She is contacted for information on the availability of public housing and also helps persons interested in private rental units. She knows a private realtor and uses the lists of available rentals which the Department of Welfare compiles.

Hilario and Jorge are gatekeepers in the worker role. Jorge, through associations in bars, hears about places, particularly construction companies, which are hiring laborers. Hilario uses Simon Patron's employment agency, knows a foreman in a meat packing plant, and contacts City Civil Service for possible job openings. Hilario is familiar with some auction houses, pawn shops, and second-hand stores where he takes people who need to buy clothing and furniture. Jorge has more direct connections in the buyer role and uses a relative, who owns a second-hand store, as a resource in the buyer role. Hilario also encourages Spanish-Americans to participate in organizational activities, and promotes the Hispanos Veterans, the Scholarship and Loan Association, and the Sup and Say Club.

The Rehabilitators, through Jorge and Hilario, deal with persons who have been given new hope for life in the urban community through the Retraining Corps. They attempt to assist in needs which arise while trainees undergo the rehabilitative process. Teresina does not deal with the same group of Spanish-Americans, but she is an important link to public housing facilities for the other members of the Rehabilitators.

THE DEFENDERS

The Defenders focus their gatekeeping efforts on the legal role. The members of the clique, Candido, Manuel, Miguel, Erminio, Ramon, and Juan, are all in communication with each other. The Defenders hold membership in the Hispanos Veterans, the Sup and Say Club, the Scholarship and Loan Association, and all except Juan belong to the Rebeldes.

Candido Defender, Manuel Defender, and Miguel Defender are local attorneys. Conflict is introduced into their careers, for on the one hand they are expected to donate their time and services to Spanish surnamed persons who cannot afford legal counsel, and on the other hand they want to develop a clientele which will supply them with professional status and prestige. The attorneys have backgrounds of poverty and are relatively new to the legal profession.

Erminio Defender is a sales representative for a liquor company, and spends his time calling on local restaurants and bars. Ramon Defender is a barber and owns a shop in a Spanish neighborhood Juan Defender is on the administrative staff of the Department of Welfare, and he is perhaps the most popular leader among Spanish-Americans in the city.

The only gatekeeping function which is common to the members of the Defenders involves the legal role. Juan is used as a link to legal help for persons who are in the welfare program. He is less likely to be contacted directly by persons needing help, but he is frequently called on by intermediaries, such as Awake Welfare

Women, managers from Public Housing, and staff members in the Department of Welfare, who are interested in helping people needing assistance in the legal role. Juan is also used by persons outside of the welfare program who have heard his name because it frequently appears in the mass media. Many of those who call him are concerned with legal problems which accompany the purchase of a home or a small business. Juan uses the attorneys in the Defenders, as well as other legal counsels with whom he has contact.

Erminio, as a sales representative, associates with people in bars and restaurants, and they ask him to help Spanish-Americans in the legal role. He contacts all the members of the Defenders in search of sources of help and uses other attorneys, such as Donald Champion, Demetrio Cosmos, and Armando Cosmos. He is active in a volunteer program designed to assist Spanish juveniles who have become delinquent, and Erminio is well known for his willingness to help anyone who is in legal difficulty.

Ramon's barber shop is located in a Spanish section of the city, and it is a center where local people stop to discuss the affairs of the day. He has become involved in several police brutality cases, and the neighborhood looks up to him as one who knows how to get legal help. He uses the same legal resources as Erminio. Juan, Erminio, and Ramon have various occupations, but they are in positions where they are visible to the public and have reputations for helping persons with legal problems. They are the links to legal assistance by their associations with the attorneys in the Defenders, as well as others in the legal profession.

Manuel, Candido, and Miquel said that they are asked to donate their time and talents by members of the clique, by persons they meet in their organizational activities, and also by people in the community who are unknown to them. They indicated that the demands made on them by other gatekeepers far exceeds the time and energy which they have.

The Defenders exhibit a great many gatekeeping activities which are not common to the group as a whole. Candido, Miguel, Erminio, and Ramon attempt to assist persons in the worker role. Candido and Miguel are often contacted because of the influence they have. These two gatekeepers also attempt to locate jobs through City Civil Service, through Simon Patron's employment agency, or through individuals in the professional world who have job leads. Candido and Miguel deal mostly with Spanish-Americans who have job skills.

Persons make inquiries about possibilities for employment in Ramon's barber shop. He has a close relative who is the employment director in a large local hotel, he is on friendly terms with the manager of a neighborhood grocery which is part of a large chain of local grocery stores, and he also appeals to a relative who teaches in a community sponsored vocational school for help in locating jobs.

Erminio is confronted by persons in bars who are seeking employment, and many of these are newcomers to the city from southern Colorado. He takes advantage of his relationships with bars and restaurant owners, who can sometimes provide employment themselves or who pass on information about other jobs of which they have heard. Erminio is also personally acquainted with a staff member of the State Employment Service who advises him of available secretarial positions. He uses Simon Patron's agency as an additional resource. Ramon and Erminio help unskilled laborers primarily, in contrast to Candido and Miguel who help persons with job skills.

The Lawyers in the Defenders assist people in the loans role. They usually help people in trouble with costly loan plans. They attempt to alleviate these problems by breaking exorbitant interest contracts, and they try to arrange for refinancing in low interest agencies, such as mutual credit unions. A common complaint among all gatekeepers interviewed was that low interest agencies are hesitant to risk loans with the Spanish surnamed persons of low socioeconomic strata, while the high interest agencies are anxious to exploit them. Consequently, those who can least afford to pay interest on borrowed money often pay the highest rates, multiplying the problems they have in the urban complex.

Miguel, Ramon, and Juan are gatekeepers in the patient role, but they operate in different contexts. Miguel is contacted through organizational associates, Ramon is used by people who come to his shop, who are intimidated by the large medical facilities of a large city or who want advice on low cost treatment agencies, while Juan is used by people in the city welfare program. Each of the gatekeepers is familiar with the medical program in City Hospital; they also contact Dr. Antonio In, a private physician.

The welfare client role makes demands on members of every clique, including the members of the Defenders. As an administrator in the Welfare Department, Juan is constantly confronted by persons who are unable to support themselves. The demands which the members of the Spanish community make on him often go beyond the help which he can justly give through the Department of Welfare. About half of the members of the gatekeeping system analyzed in this study, besides numerous other persons, call on him. Many newcomers to the city, for instance, call on him because of the exposure his name has in the local news media.

Persons who are attempting to establish eligibility for welfare call Candido and Miguel, or they call them to get information about the welfare program. The attorneys rely on Juan for help with these kinds of problems. Needs in the welfare client role are also discussed in Ramon's barber shop, while Erminio most often encounters new arrivals to the city who need financial help in order to survive. Ramon and Erminio look to private organizations, such as the Hispanos Veterans and church organizations, for donations of material goods to help the people they contact.

The Defenders try to induce Spanish surnamed people to become active in organizations. Juan, however, felt that his time is taken up by the other activities in which he is involved, so he makes little effort in this area. The Defenders are also concerned with the use Spanish-Americans make of the newspapers, magazines, radio, and television. They also attempt to get the news media to present a fair image of the Spanish population and to educate the community to the problems which a rural-oriented ethnic minority faces in the city. Manuel is the only Defender who does not participate in this type of activity.

Candido is one of the few gatekeepers to deal with the savings and checking account roles. He shares his office with an attorney who serves on a local bank board, and uses his influence to pave the way for Spanish-Americans who want to use savings and checking accounts. He felt that his ability to deal directly with the bank and make personal contacts encourages Spanish persons to use these facilities. Ramon permits people to post for sale ads in his barber shop, and he helps them establish the worth of used articles. In this way, Ramon is one of the few gatekeepers to operate in the seller role.

The Defenders are not unique because they emphasize gatekeeping in the legal role. But they are a potent source for help in this role context due to the attorneys who are a part of the clique.

THE PROSELYTIZERS

The Proselytizers have only two members, Rev. Benjamin, and Rev. Efraim. Rev. Benjamin Proselyte is the pastor of a congregation located in a low income residential area of the city. He is also a chaplain in City Hospital and is used as an interpreter for Spanish patients who cannot speak English. He is a member of the Scholarship and Loan Association, Hispanos Veterans, and the Sup and Say Club. Rev. Efraim Proselyte is one of several pastors in a large downtown parish. The Sup and Say Club is the only Spanish organization in which he is a member.

The Proselytizers are active in the church member role, which is directly related to their professional involvement. Rev. Benjamin has a congregation which includes only Spanish-Americans, while Rev. Efraim works in an integrated parish and is in contact with all ethnic groups in the city. Both of these pastors feel that the church could play a major role in solving the problems of the Spanish through its inspiration to a renewed moral life.

Rev. Benjamin and Rev. Efraim encounter families who need material support from community agencies. They are familiar with the Welfare Department and advise people of the program it offers. Rev. Efraim is able to give help directly in a more limited way, for his parish collects food and clothing which is distributed to the poor. He also contacts Jose Cosmos in the Welfare Department for people who have special problems related to the welfare program.

The Proselytizers carry their gatekeeping activities into the legal role. Members of their parishes contact them when relatives or friends have legal problems they cannot cope with. The pastors rely on Demetrio Cosmos and Miguel Defender for help in the legal role. Outside of these attorneys, they have no other contacts which they can use in this role context. Although they deal with young people who become delinquent, they apparently have no resources in Juvenile Hall which can facilitate their efforts to help juveniles who get into trouble.

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Rev. Benjamin gives advice and opinions on articles and programs which appear in the community and are related to Spanish-Americans. He encourages people to join the Hispanos Veterans, the Scholarship and Loan Association, and the Sup and Say Club. He is not engaged in other role contexts as a gatekeeper.

Rev. Efraim tries to help Spanish surnamed persons in the worker role. He contacts persons who are knowledgeable about employment possibilities including administrative personnel from two local hospitals, the office manager of a large egg company, the owner of a local construction company, a shop foreman for a metal company, and the owner of a trash-hauling company. All of these persons are members of his parish. He felt that they are not only useful in procuring jobs for Spanish persons in their own companies, but they pass on a great deal of information about other employers who hire people. His parish also has a family health clinic which offers an educational program in health care and also serves as a link between church members and local clinics, hospitals, and physicians. He has also been successful in bringing non-church members of Spanish descent into the health program.

The Proselytizers carry on their gatekeeping in a limited set of role contexts, but they present another example of gatekeeping activity.

THE PROBLEM-SOLVERS

Gatekeeping is an activity directed at dealing with the problems of persons in the community, but the Problem-Solvers, Victoria and Anita, are unique for the status they have achieved as problem-solvers, their willingness to deal with difficult problems of the most unfortunate people, and their constant personal appeals for help to the most influential people in the community.

Victoria Solver has had no formal education, and Anita Solver left school after completing the eighth grade. Neither of the Problem-Solvers claim any organizational affiliations and remain independent of organizational commitments in the city. Anita is an interne counsellor at the Retraining Corps, while Victoria is a housewife who lives in Harbor Homes supported by the limited income of her husband.

The Problem-Solvers center their gatekeeping energies in the organization member and the legal roles. Their participation in the organization member role is a contrast to their own disengagement from organizational ties. They urge persons to participate in such organizations as the Hispanos Veterans, the Sup and Say Club, the Scholarship and Loan Association, the Rebeldes, and Awake Welfare Women. They often appear at meetings of the organizations to present and discuss problems of concern to Spanish-Americans. Anita is also involved in creating a new organization which she hopes will unite all ethnic minorities in the community.

Victoria and Anita do most of their gatekeeping in the legal role. They are often involved in cases where people feel they are receiving unjust treatment in the hands of the courts and the Police Department. It is in this role that Anita and Victoria cooperate closely. They call on all the Spanish attorneys in the city and also present their arguments to personnel in the Police Department, to court officials, to the city safety manager, and to the mayor of the city. Their reputation for going to the top, if necessary, encourages many persons to call on them.

Victoria indicated no other gatekeeping activity. Anita is involved in the worker role. She deals with persons in the Retraining Corps who need employment, and she has a personal contact in the State Employment Service. She also calls on Simon Patron's employment service to explore possible job offerings. As an interne counsellor at the Retraining Corps she becomes aware of the medical problems of her clients, and she is also called on by the leaders in Awake Welfare Women as a resource in the patient role. Through the Retraining Corps she has direct access to the city program for medical care, as well as to a private physician.

The Problem-Solvers give us an example of two persons who refuse to remain passive in regard to the problems of others. Their lack of professional qualifications is compensated for by their unwillingness to accept impersonal institutional solutions and their confidence that help can be found if they contact influential persons in the community.

THE INS

The Ins are characterized by their professional status in the community. Carolina, Urban, Noberto, Dr. Antonio, Tito, Pablo, and Ricardo comprise the membership of the Ins. Each of them is a well-established middle class member of the urban society. The gatekeepers in lower socioeconomic cliques often refer to the Ins as Anglicized Spanish-Americans. Carolina In holds a supervisory position in the administrative services of the public schools. Urban In is the director of a youth employment agency which is related to the State Employment Service. The organization functions as an employment agency for teenage boys and girls. Noberto In is an assistant principal in a local high school. Dr. Antonio In is a successful physician in private practice. Tito In serves as assistant principal in a local elementary school. Pablo In holds an important appointment in the County Sheriff's Department, and Ricardo In is a local dentist. All the clique members are active in the Scholarship and Loan Association, and Pablo also belongs to the Sup and Say Club. Outside of these organizational activities, the clique members indicated no other Spanish-American group affiliations. The Ins shun the more militant organizations such as the Rebeldes, the Spanish Senoras, and the Spanish Service Society.

Five of the Ins are involved with Spanish-Americans seeking help in the worker role. Carolina, Noberto, and Ricardo help young people who are looking for part-time jobs so they can remain in high school or continue their education in college. Noberto is frequently contacted by newcomers from southern Colorado who were acquainted with him before he came to the city. Carolina and Noberto have some direct access to jobs which are available in the public school system, and they also use the job counselling service in the schools. Carolina, Ricardo, and Noberto call on Urban who heads the Youth Employment Center. Ricardo also contacts a dental group which maintains lists of available secretarial and receptionist positions in dental offices. Through these routes, the three clique members are able to provide some relief for the jobless.

Urban, of course, has direct facilities for persons who come to him looking for jobs. Most of his time is given to finding work for teenagers, and he spends little time in dealing with adults in the worker role. Pablo is an exception in the five members of the Ins who try to help people find jobs, for he deals primarily with adults who are unemployed. Other gatekeepers send people to Pablo, and he is in a position to know of job openings in County Hall. But Pablo feels that most of the people who came to him looking for work are not qualified for the vacancies of which he had knowledge; consequently, he advises most of them to use the State Employment Service.

The Ins have five of their members acting as gatekeepers in the loans role. Carolina and Urban are contacted by young people who want to borrow money to continue their education. The two gatekeepers are on the board of the Scholarship and Loan Association and rely heavily on its resources, but they also know people who are influential in Cathedral Credit and call on them. Urban has additional support through the Youth Employment Center, for it has a limited loan fund which is available to persons in high school and college.

Dr. Antonio and Dentist Ricardo become concerned with loans because their clients need extra money to pay their medical and dental bills. Dentist Ricardo has established relations with two local banks which make it possible for people to get short term loans for dental bills. Dr. Antonio uses his own bank as a resource, and he allows his name to be used for reference when clients have poor credit ratings and cannot get loans. His experience indicated that a majority of the Spanish persons with poor credit ratings, whom he helped, not only paid off their bills, but they were able to re-establish their credit ratings.

Pablo is also contacted by persons who feel his influence will make loans available to them. He refers them to several banks which he feels will give them fair consideration, but his involvement is on a more impersonal level than the other members who operate in the loans role.

The Ins deal with people who need medical advice and care. The members who are involved in such a capacity are Urban, Tito, Pablo, Dr. Antonio, and Dentist Ricardo. Urban finds out about people who need medical attention through his conversations with applicants in the employment agency. Tito becomes aware of the medical problems of persons in the school; children relay information about illness in the family,or parents come to him for advice on what steps should be taken for a family member who is ill. Urban and Tito use Dr. Antonio and Dentist Ricardo as well as other physicians they know in the community. Tito also contacts the public school nurses about problems which they can handle.

Pablo is approached by people who need help in the patient role; often this is for advice on court orders concerning the committing of relatives to institutions for the treatment of mental illness. People who have heard of Pablo also call him for general information related to medical problems, and he contacts City Hospital for them.

Dentist Ricardo is often called on by people who cannot afford to pay for necessary dental work. He arranges for their treatment in City Hospital, which has a program to meet the dental needs of indigent people. Juan Defender, of the Department of Welfare, asks Ricardo to provide free dental care for people who are not eligible for the City Hospital program, and the Retraining Corps also sends people to him who have no other source for dental care. Spanish-Americans, who cannot speak English, stop in and have Ricardo make arrangements for required medical attention. He calls on Dr. Antonio and uses City Hospital facilities. His opportunity to help through City Hospital is enhanced because Ricardo is on the teaching staff of a dental clinic in the hospital.

Dr. Antonio is constantly involved in treating sick people, and most of his clientele are of Spanish descent. He is able to speak Spanish, so he can communicate effectively with those who are limited in the ability to use the English language. He sends many people, who cannot afford the financial burden of private medical care, to a local hospital where internes, under the supervision of M.D.'s, care for them at no cost.

Ricardo and Dr. Antonio are confronted by people who are destitute and need welfare support. Dr. Antonio contacts a relative who is a social worker in the Department of Welfare, and she takes care of these problems for him. Dentist Ricardo calls Juan Defender to report families in need of material emergency aid. Urban finds out about hardship cases through boys who come into his office for jobs, and he has routine channels of communication with the Department of Welfare. For special problems he calls Juan Defender and Jose Cosmos in the Welfare Department. Pablo, as a member of the County Sheriff's Department, is confronted with families of men who are under arrest. Often these families have no means of support. Pablo calls Juan Defender, Jose Cosmos, and Urban In in attempts to provide support for these families.

Tito, Noberto, and Carolina are active in the organizational role. Their energies are directed toward additional support for the Scholarship and Loan Association. Carolina and Tito also encourage Spanish named persons to participate in the Sup and Say Club. These three gatekeepers are all active in encouraging youth organizations in the public schools, and they are particularly concerned with involving youth of Spanish descent in organizational activities. They support a youth motivation program, in which successful community members of Spanish descent meet with high school students and attempt to motivate them towards educational goals.

Noberto and Dr. Antonio extend their gatekeeping activity to the religious role. Noberto is directly involved in contacting clergymen of various denominations for high school students who are in the school's counselling program because of personal problems. People from southern Colorado who know Noberto and are new to the city call him for information on available religious facilities. Noberto often goes out of his way to take these newcomers to church services. Dr. Antonio deals with patients who exhibit emotional problems, and he calls clergymen to visit and counsel with them.

Ricardo and Pablo try to assist people in the buyer role. Ricardo keeps a file on local dealers in furniture, appliances, automobiles, and clothing who he feels treat the Spanish population with consideration. Through conversation he has the opportunity to advise them in this role context. Pablo is helpful to persons who want to buy automobiles, and he is acquainted with several salesmen who he feels will not take advantage of Spanish persons who are naive in this area. He indicated that people usually contact him after they have fallen prey to unscrupulous automobile dealers. They hope that in his position he will be able to help them, but, unfortunately, he can only advise them of agencies they should use in the future.

Pablo is the only member of the Ins who operates as a gatekeeper in the legal role. His contacts in this area are primarily with other gatekeepers who are seeking help for people they encounter who are having legal difficulties. He is called on by Urban In, Juan Defender, and Anita Solver in this role. Pablo is able to assist directly because of his occupational position, for he has lines of communication to members of the Police Department, persons in the Probation and Parole Department, and attorneys such as Demetrio Cosmos, Miguel Defender, and Donald Champion. He also uses several Anglo attorneys because he feels that if a legal charge really looked bad for a Spanish-American an Anglo attorney would be more likely to produce favorable results, because of discriminatory attitudes towards Spanish attorneys.

Dr. Antonio is active in the savings role. He feels that many Spanish-Americans are unfamiliar with and hesitant to use savings accounts. Thus, whenever a young married couple, who are expecting their first child, come to his office for medical care, he includes in his counselling information and advice on the importance of a savings account. He helps them establish contact with a local bank for the purpose of opening a savings account. He feels that this type of assistance is an important part of introducing rural oriented Spanish persons to life in the city.

The Ins give us another glimpse of the gatekeeping effort which is carried on among Spanish-Americans in the modern city. The professional status of the Ins gives them advantages which some members of other cliques do not enjoy, but it can also isolate them from those members of the ethnic minority who are experiencing the severest problems in the acculturation process. They may deal mostly with those persons who are prepared to accept urban values and goals. A prominent Spanish-American attorney in the city indicated that Spanish leaders who are successful become divorced from the minority group. He said, "There is a tendency to become middle-class. I sometimes think that of myself--that maybe I don't understand."[1]

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[1] The Denver Post, November 21, 1965, p. 35.

THE TOILERS

The Toilers, Francisco, Alfredo, Lionor, and Luis, have close ties with the Patrons, but their in-group ties exceed those that link them to the Patrons. Francisco Toiler works as an engineer for the city and was a past candidate for the state legislature on the Republican party ticket. The only Spanish organization in which he participates is the Spanish Senoras, headed by Elisa of the Patrons. Alfredo Toiler is a social worker in the public schools and acts as a liaison between Juvenile Hall and the public school system. He holds membership in the Scholarship and Loan Association and the Sup and Say Club. Lionor Toiler works as a coordinator in community services and juvenile delinquency. He works closely with Alfredo, and his office is near those of Rubel Patron and Ignacio Patron. He is a leader in the Republican party, but he claims no affiliation with Spanish organizations. Luis Toiler is the director of a recreation center and is not active in Spanish organizations. As director of the recreation center, Luis also engages in counselling with young people in the neighborhood.

The Toilers do not participate as a group in any of the role contexts. This is primarily due to the limited activity of Francisco, for the other three members gatekeep in the worker, the church member, and the legal roles. The activity in the worker role is predominantly related to teenagers who are seeking work. Alfredo, Lionor, and Luis are concerned with teenagers because of their occupations. They contact one another to find out about job possibilities, and they rely on the State Employment Service. Alfredo has personal acquaintances in three construction companies who he calls for jobs, and Luis uses a friend who works in a chain of parking lots which occasionally hires teenagers. Interestingly enough, the Toilers do not consider the Youth Employment Center a significant source for teenage jobs.

The three active members of the Toilers also stress participation in the church member role. They engage in a great deal of counselling and use local clergymen as additional support in their therapy programs. They are frequently involved in the legal role. Each of them has routine channels of communication with Juvenile Hall, the court system, and the Police Department. Alfredo uses Demetrio Cosmos, Miguel Defender, and Armando Cosmos when an attorney is needed, while Lionor relies on Demetrio, and Luis uses Demetrio and Armando.

Alfredo and Luis are concerned with the health problems of juveniles and their families. Those who need medical care can seldom afford private facilities, so Alfredo and Luis rely on the program of low cost care at City Hospital. They use the formal channels for securing assistance in the patient role rather than relying on personal contacts.

Lionor and Alfredo take an interest in the material welfare of the people with whom they deal. They participate in solving problems which families have in either procuring welfare support, or retaining eligibility for it. Neither of the gatekeepers feel it is necessary to use personal influence, and they stated that they are able to accomplish their ends by using the routine procedures in dealing with the Welfare Department.

Francisco is active only in the loans role, and Luis is also active in this role. Both of the gatekeepers use Cathedral Credit, but Luis also has personal acquaintances in a local bank which he uses to initiate loans for others. Francisco feels that people come to him for help with loans because of his position with the city, while Luis is consulted by people who live near the recreation center in which he works.

Alfredo is often called on by Spanish persons who want to buy automobiles, and he takes them to several friends who work as salesmen in used automobile agencies. Alfredo also feels that more Spanish persons should participate in organizations, particularly those people who have achieved middle class status in the community. He encourages them to join the Scholarship and Loan Association and the Sup and Say Club. Alfredo is often contacted by the news media for opinions on current issues related to Spanish-Americans, and he exchanges opinions with other Spanish leaders such as Erminio of the Defenders, Irene Cosmos of the Civic Mediation Board, Benito Cosmos of the Public Housing Authority, Rubel Patron and Juan Defender.

The Toilers are a clique which as a group indicates a relatively low level of activity in relation to the role contexts. Francisco is active in only one role context, and represents those Spanish persons who feel that the ethnic minority should not attempt to become an organized voice in the community but should minimize their ethnic identity and lose themselves in the Anglo community. The Toilers are also less likely to use personal influence in the process of gatekeeping. Alfredo, Luis, and Lionor hold social work positions to which they were appointed by the political leaders. None of them have professional training in the field of social work, and their positions are easily threatened by political changes. They toil to maintain the tenuous positions they hold in the professional world.

SUMMARY

The gatekeeper cliques present examples of how help is given to Spanish-Americans who are in the process of acculturation. The rambling account of the connections between gatekeepers and their activity through the role inventory describes the informal activity of the gatekeepers. The clique serves as a social circle of contacts upon which the individual members depend to gain resources for Spanish surnamed persons who need help.

CHAPTER VIII

NON-CLIQUE GATEKEEPERS

The gatekeepers who have been discussed are members of gatekeeping cliques; that is, they are clustered together in groups on the basis of their common use of each other as resources in carrying on gatekeeping activity. Gatekeepers who are part of clique networks are relatively simple to isolate in the community, for, if one clique member is contacted, he identifies the others with whom he works.

There are also gatekeepers who do not belong to cliques. They also provide links to community resources which are useful to Spanish-Americans in the acculturation process, but these gatekeepers do not identify closely with networks of other gatekeepers. There are two kinds of gatekeepers who are not members of cliques. One kind, the Outsiders, works outside of the networks of helpers described in this study. The other kind, the Cosmopolites, is not a member of any one clique but is related to two or more cliques. Thus, the Cosmopolites are in the system of gatekeepers but are not limited to the associations of one clique. The functions of the Outsiders and the Cosmopolites will be discussed in this chapter. The Cosmopolites are presented as influential members of the gatekeeper system who act as links between the 15 gatekeeper cliques.

THE OUTSIDERS

There are persons who carry on gatekeeping activity which is independent of clique networks. The Outsiders are such gatekeepers. They are outside of the gatekeeping system. It is assumed that there are many such individuals in the city, but, compared to the clique gatekeepers, these individual operators are more difficult for the fieldworker to locate. Two gatekeepers will be discussed who serve as examples of those who work outside of the gatekeeping system.

Bonifacio Outsider has worked daily in his own drugstore on Skidrow for over twenty years. He is a registered pharmacist; prior to coming to the city, he owned a drugstore in a small community in southern Colorado. Felipe Outsider owns a bar in Little Mexico, a substandard Spanish-American residential and business district. The bar is a popular hangout, and every weekend Felipe opens the ballroom and it is crowded with people who dance to an orchestra which specializes in Mexican music. Both of the gatekeepers cater to Spanish-Americans. They stock goods which are of distinctly Spanish origin, and one is more likely to hear the Spanish language used by the customers and proprietors than English.

Employment is a topic discussed often in Bonifacio's pharmacy. Most of the people who come in and ask him where a job might be found are newcomers to the city. Bonifacio has maintained close ties in the area of southern Colorado where he first entered the drug business, and he goes back there frequently to visit with friends. Upon arriving in the city, many of the men from southern Colorado stop in to see Bonifacio for information on jobs. He is always aware of the latest gossip on jobs which circulates through Skidrow. But he also calls places which he thinks might have openings for the people who come to him. For instance, he calls warehouses, City Hospital, and businesses on Skidrow to see if they need unskilled laborers. He is also well-acquainted with the owner of a construction company and manages to get jobs for some people through him. Bonifacio indicated that he didn't rely only on organizations in which he had personal contacts, but, when someone comes in to see him about a job, he calls places which he thinks might need extra help.

Newcomers often have no prearranged plans for providing themselves and their families with housing in the city. They come into the city in an automobile which contains their families and all their worldly possessions and hope that on arrival they will be able to find a place to live through relatives and friends. Some come to Bonifacio and ask him how they should go about finding living quarters. Bonifacio knows the owners of inexpensive hotels on Skidrow and can usually arrange temporary shelter for them. He knows several people who own real estate in the Skidrow area, and he calls them to inquire about vacant homes they may have. Occasionally he contacts Benito Cosmos in the Public Housing Authority or Juan Defender in the Department of Welfare for people who are interested in public housing, but Bonifacio does not encourage people to use these facilities. He feels that public housing areas have a deleterious effect on families living there. He also emphasized that he always advises people not to rent in the Skidrow area. Although he feels Spanish-Americans should not live in Skidrow, it seems that his resources limit him to helping people who are willing to live there.

People who gather in Bonifacio's drugstore also talk about things they would like to buy and sell. He encourages them to use ads, because he feels they can do better this way. He is familiar with second-hand stores in Skidrow and tells people which ones they should use. Even though Bonifacio does not contact businesses which buy and sell, he has a wealth of information on the facilities which exist in Skidrow.

Spanish persons who frequent Bonifacio's drugstore consider him to be an expert in the patient role. They ask him for all kinds of remedies and treatments and also bring in sick people for diagnosis. He emphasized that he does not diagnose and always sends sick persons to one of several neighborhood physicians. He occasionally advises people to use herb medicines, but he stated that this was done on the basis of knowledge he has about the pharmaceutical contents of the herbs. He feels that Dr. Antonio In is the best Spanish doctor in the community, but he pointed out that Antonio is an uptown doctor and most people who come into his drugstore cannot afford his services. They can find less expensive professionals who have offices in Skidrow.

When Bonifacio was approached with questions in the welfare client role he indicated little activity in the area. He feels that persons working in the welfare organizations are parasites who worry only about rules and are not concerned with the well-being of people. He feels, however, that Juan Defender is a competent man, and occasionally Bonifacio contacts him to help elderly people.

People come to Bonifacio when their friends and relatives encounter legal problems. Through police officers who have been his friends for a number of years, he is able to get information on persons arrested. When he contacts an attorney for help, it is usually one of several Anglo attorneys who have offices in Skidrow. He is a personal friend of Attorney Demetrio Cosmos but feels that the people who come to him for help cannot afford Demetrio's services.

Bonifacio serves as an opinion-maker for the people who come to his place for a cup of coffee, conversation, and pharmaceutical needs. He is not hesitant to give his opinions on issues which are of concern to Spanish-Americans. He is proud of the fact that many people depend on him to tell them about political candidates and that he helps them decide how they should vote.

There is little communication between Bonifacio and other influential Spanish-Americans in regard to gatekeeping activities. He does not rely on persons of Spanish descent for resources in his attempts to help others, but a segment of the Spanish population looks up to Bonifacio as an important resource in dealing with the problems of urban life.

Felipe differs from Bonifacio, for Bonifacio is strategic as a gatekeeper because of his own efforts and his willingness to

The Cosmopolites include Alonso, Carlos, Jose, Demetrio, Armando, Irene, Erasmus, and Benito. Alonso Cosmos is a general agent for a surety company and serves as a bail bondsman. He is particularly active in posting bonds for people of Spanish descent and is known for his willingness to bond individuals who are considered to be poor financial risks. He is a member of the Hispanos Veterans, the Scholarship and Loan Association, and the Sup and Say Club. He is the leader of the Rebeldes, a politically militant group dedicated to opposing discriminatory trends toward Spanish-Americans in the city. Alonso supports the Democratic party, but he made it clear that he will change parties if such a change is of benefit to the Spanish minority.

Carlos Cosmos is employed as a safety supervisor for the city. He is primarily a liaison for the mayor to members of minority groups who have complaints concerning administrative departments of the city. He is a member of Rev. Jacobo Redeemer's parish and is an officer in Cathedral Credit. Carlos is not an active member in any of the Spanish organizations in the community, but he attends meetings of most of the organizations.

Jose Cosmos is on the administrative staff of the Department of Welfare. He grew up in Colorado and completed an advanced degree in social work at a university in the city. He worked in several welfare organizations in Southwestern United States and returned to the city to accept his present position. He is active in the Scholarship and Loan Association.

Attorney Demetrio Cosmos is not only successful in private law practice, but is a member of the state legislature. He holds memberships in the Hispanos Veterans, the Spanish Service Society, the Scholarship and Loan Association, the Rebeldes, and the Sup and Say Club. Armando Cosmos, another attorney in the Cosmopolites, also has a well-established law practice, and he is a past member of the state legislature. He participates in the Hispanos Veterans, the Spanish Senoras, the Spanish Service Society, the Scholarship and Loan Association, and the Sup and Say Club. As a Republican, Armando represents the opposition to Demetrio's political party, the Democratic party.

Irene Cosmos, one of the two non-Spanish members of the Cosmopolites, is the director of the Civic Mediation Board. Her position involves her directly with problems which minority group members have in the city. The directorship Irene holds is more than a job to her; it is means by which she carries on a personal crusade for a society which will offer equal opportunities to all persons. She is active in the Scholarship and Loan Association and in the Sup and Say Club.

Erasmus Cosmos, the other member of the Cosmopolites of non-Spanish descent, is the supervisor of housing in the Department of Welfare. He is not active in any of the Spanish organizations. Benito Cosmos was also related to housing, serving as director of the Public Housing Authority, but during the term of the field work political shifts removed him from this position. He is not active in any of the Spanish organizations but is an active member of the Republican party. Benito is also a licensed pharmacist and has interests in several local drugstores.

The Cosmopolites exhibit interesting intergroup associations. Table 33 presents the observed contacts which exist between the eight members. Armando and Erasmus do not rely on any of the members of the Cosmopolites for help in the process of gatekeeping. In turn Armando has only one member of the group using him as a resource. Irene asks him to use his talents as an attorney for persons who need help in the legal role. Erasmus is called on by two persons, Irene and Jose, for help in procuring low cost housing for Spanish-Americans. It will be recalled that Erasmus, Irene, and Jose are employed in city bureaus. Benito contacts Jose and Demetrio for support in his gatekeeping activities. He is used by Jose and Irene as a link to the public housing facilities.

Armando, Erasmus, and Benito are more involved in the gatekeeping process as resource persons than links to other community sources. The three members, as a group, average only three contacts which they use in the entire gatekeeping sample. On the average, in the whole sample, a gatekeeper contacts about eight other gatekeepers in the process of performing his functions. The indication is that Armando, Erasmus, and Benito rely heavily on their own resources to help others, or use sources which were not uncovered by this study. On the other hand, they are contacted more often for help than the average member of the gatekeeping system. The average person is approached by eight other members

TABLE 33

INTERRELATIONSHIPS OF THE COSMOPOLITES

	Alonso	Jose	Irene	Carlos	Demetrio	Benito	Erasmus	Armando	Totals
Alonso	X	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	4
Jose	1	X	1	0	1	1	1	0	5
Irene	1	1	X	0	1	1	1	1	6
Carlos	1	0	0	X	1	0	0	0	2
Demetrio	0	1	0	1	X	0	0	0	2
Benito	0	1	0	0	1	X	0	0	2
Erasmus	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	0	0
Armando	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	0
Totals	3	4	2	2	5	2	2	1	

The sums of the horizontal rows indicate the number of contacts an individual makes for resources. The vertical column sums show the number of persons who are contacting an individual for resources.

for assistance, whereas Armando, Erasmus, and Benito are contacted by about 12 persons on the average.

It is also interesting to see how Armando, Erasmus, and Benito relate to the cliques which have been isolated. Armando is in direct communication with members of the Rehabilitators. Both Jorge and Hilario call on him to help people who are having legal difficulties. Armando is also in communication with the City Face, and he is contacted for help by Lucas Face who is on the Civic Mediation Board.

Erasmus has direct links to members of the City Face, the Watchers, and the Rehabilitators. There is personal communication between Erasmus and Lucas of the City Face concerning problems which persons have in the process of locating inexpensive rental units. Alice, of the Watchers, and Erasmus call each other in their attempts to provide for persons in the client role. Teresina, a member of the Rehabilitators and employed in the public housing system, cooperates with Erasmus in solving housing problems of the Spanish surnamed.

Benito has links extending to three cliques. He is asked to help provide housing by Luis, Alfredo, and Lionor of the Toilers. Lucas Face and Rev. Daniel Face also approach Benito for help in the housing role. Benito has no direct contacts with the Staple Circle, although he is used as a resource by others who contact members of the Staple Circle. It is interesting to note that Benito does not contact any of the members of the three cliques which contact him.

Carlos and Demetrio form a dyad in the Cosmopolites in that they contact each other as resource persons. They exhibit a low degree of effort in calling on other members of the gatekeeping sample. Carlos contacts 10 persons, and Demetrio uses only four people as means of support for his gatekeeping functions. They are contacted more often for help, however, than the average gatekeeper. Carlos has 13 persons depending on him, while Demetrio is contacted by 31 gatekeepers who most often want him to provide help in the legal role.

The communications which exist between Carlos and Demetrio also establish links between the cliques with which they are associated. Carlos has direct contact with the members of the Champions of the Poor and the Redeemers. Demetrio communicates with people in the Rehabilitators, the Defenders, and the Ins. He also has secondary relationships with the Watchers and the Staple Circle. Secondary relationships indicate that there is no personal contact between Demetrio and the cliques, but the relationships are based on the fact that Demetrio and members of the cliques use the same resources, and are used as sources by the same persons. Associations like this give further insight into the chain of relationships which exist in the gatekeeping system. Carlos and Demetrio form the major branch; each of them has connections which reach out to the cliques.

Alonso, Jose, and Irene form a central core in the gatekeeping system. Two-way communication exists between each of them. Irene contacts every member of the Cosmopolites except one, Carlos. Jose omits only Carlos and Armando in his chain of contacts, and

Alonso excludes Benito, Erasmus, and Armando from his circle of contacts in the Cosmopolites. The core of the Cosmopolites, Alonso, Jose, and Irene, also reaches out to more members of the gatekeeping system than the rest of the eight members. On the average, they use 20.5 members of the gatekeeping system as sources for assistance, compared to an average of eight for the total system membership. Irene is especially active in looking for others who might be able to provide her with facilities for helping people of Spanish descent, for she contacts 24 persons, while Alonso contacts 20, and Jose uses 17.

Not only does the three-member core reach out to more people in quest of resources, but they are also contacted as resources for help most frequently. They have an average of 22.5 gatekeepers coming to them for help. Alonso is used most often, with 28 persons calling on him for help. Jose has 24 persons who rely on him, and Irene is contacted by 15 other gatekeepers. Alonso, Jose, and Irene form significant links in the gatekeeping system. They are important, not only because they are contacted most often for help, but because they reach beyond their own capacities to more sources than other gatekeepers do.

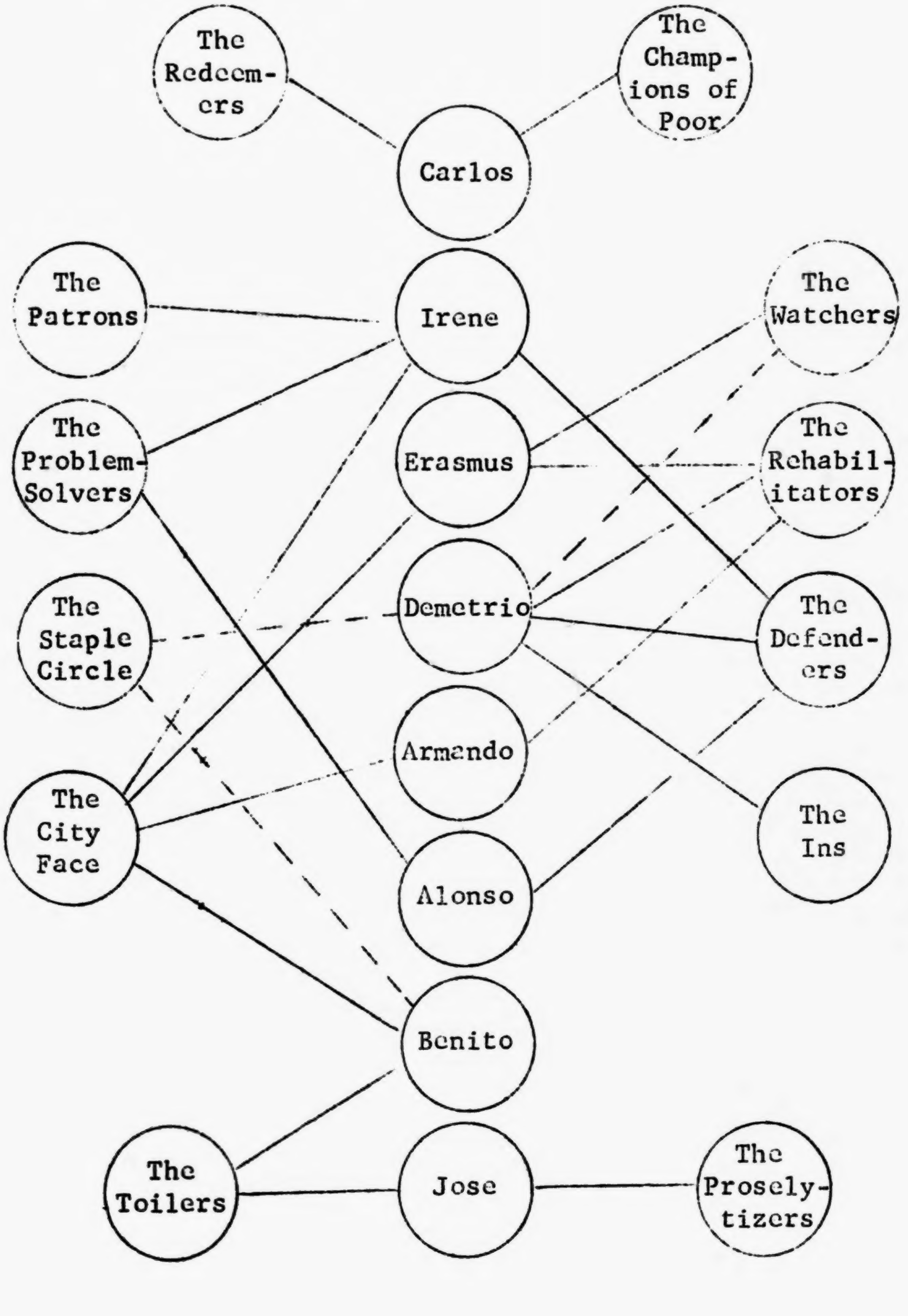
Alonso, Jose, and Irene also act as linkages between the cliques to which they are attached. Alonso has close contacts with the Defenders and the Problem-Solvers. It should be remembered that the Defenders are a relatively professional clique, including in the membership three attorneys, an administrator for the Department of Welfare, a sales representative, and a barber. The Problem-Solvers, on the other hand, are untrained laymen who become involved with Spanish-Americans experiencing various problems, particularly problems in the legal role. Alonso acts as a bridge between the two groups, for he is in contact with the professionals who can meet the needs brought to him by the laymen.

Jose has his closest ties with the Proselytizers and the Toilers. He is an official with the Department of Welfare and is used most often by the members of these cliques for help in the welfare client role. As in Alonso's case, Jose is in direct contact with the members of the cliques to which he is linked.

Irene has direct contacts in four cliques, the City Face, the Problem-Solvers, the Defenders, and the Patrons. She is not only closely related to the two cliques which Alonso communicates with, but she has two more cliques branching out of her circle of resources. Thus, these three members of the Cosmopolites are directly connected to six of the 15 cliques of gatekeepers.

The eight members of the Cosmopolites form a hub which is surrounded by 12 cliques radiating around the hub (see Figure 3). Some of the cliques are in direct contact with more than one member of the Cosmopolites. The City Face has direct communications with Benito, Erasmus, Irene, and Armando. The Defenders are joined to the hub through contacts with Irene, Demetrio, and Alonso. Erasmus, Armando, and Demetrio link the Rehabilitators to the Cosmopolites. The Toilers are associated with Benito and Jose, while Alonso and Irene are the connectors for the Problem-Solvers. Carlos is the only member to reciprocate with the Champions of the Poor and the

FIGURE 3


The Redeemers
The Champions of Poor
Carlos
The Patrons
Irene
The Watchers
The Problem-Solvers
Erasmus
The Rehabilitators
The Staple Circle
Demetrio
The Defenders
Armando
The City Face
The Ins
Alonso
Benito
The Toilers
Jose
The Proselytizers

Note: The broken lines indicate that the contacts between the gatekeeper and the cliques are not direct but that they both have mutual contacts to or from the same sources. The solid lines indicate that there is direct contact.

Redeemers. Individually, Jose, Demetrio, and Irene form the contact points for the Proselytizers, the Ins, and the Patrons, respectively. The Watchers have direct communication with Erasmus, and through unidentified intermediaries they are related to Demetrio. The Staple Circle, made up of recipients of city welfare benefits and social workers, have only secondary relationships with the Cosmopolites through the common contacts they have with Demetrio and Benito. In each of these cases there may be secondary contacts which are not evident in this summary of the data, but the analytical technique which was employed identified these relationships as unimportant relative to those contacts which have been elaborated.

Three of the cliques in the gatekeeping system, the Voice of the Community, the Gemeinschaft, and the Caretakers, have no evident ties with the Cosmopolites. They are, in a sense, isolated from the central gatekeeping system which has been identified. The Voice of the Community is a relatively self-sufficient system. They help Spanish-Americans in areas where they have resources to meet needs, and, when they cannot meet the needs through their own sphere of associations, the needs go unmet. The observed isolation of the Voice of the Community is substantiated by the general consensus of other gatekeepers that Andres Voice and his Spanish Service Society are perpetuating an ethnic island in the community and are not anxious to become involved with other Spanish or community organizations.

The Gemeinschaft is an example of a clique which is primarily oriented to a neighborhood, with a church serving as the context for its associations. In this case, the clique members have contacts outside of the clique, but the inter-member activity is intense enough to obscure the outside contacts which may exist. The clique is similar to the Voice of the Community in that they have the features of a folk society in the midst of a bustling urban community.

The Caretakers are also isolated from the Cosmopolites and present weak ties with non-clique members of the gatekeeping system. Unlike the other two isolated cliques, they are functionally integrated into formal urban institutions. Marta and Eduardo work for the Public Housing Authority, and Thurstone directs the welfare branch of the Salvation Army. The gatekeeping activities which they perform tend to isolate them. For instance, their effort in the worker role is related to providing otherwise non-employable persons with temporary part-time work. The welfare client role activity is handled through the channels of formal organizations, and personal appeals to other gatekeepers are not frequently made. Similar activity is carried on in the patient role, where the problems are usually handled through channels of communication which exist between agencies, and the clique members are not likely to appeal to individuals for additional support when these channels fail to accomplish the purpose.

The gatekeeping system has been described as it was observed in the setting. Each clique within the gatekeeping system represents a unique example of how persons are helping Spanish-Americans who find themselves unable to cope with the complex city. Some of the cliques operate as isolated way stations where certain types of relief can be found and where certain kinds of needy persons come for help. Other cliques are closely interwoven with a network of helpers who rely on each other, as well as agencies and individuals outside of the system, for the means which are necessary to help the needy.

The gatekeepers are made up of many different types of people. Some are highly successful in the professional world and without effort take their place in the whirring machinery of crowded humanity which is called the city. Other gatekeepers are conquistadors, laying siege to the fortresses of prejudice, ignorance, and discrimination which have enslaved a people. Some gatekeepers are poor and uneducated; they know what hunger is; they have experienced severe material deprivation; with fearful eyes they watch their children grow up in a world which offers little hope to their kind. They are ignorant of the sophisticated manipulations which are necessary for life in the city, but they have found some who would help them, and they are now anxious to lead others to the helpers. Some gatekeepers are disinterested in the problems of adjustment to urban life, but by virtue of their occupational locations they are useful to those who exploit them as resources. There are gatekeepers who are not members of the ethnic minority, but they are willing to step out of the stream of urban ways; they are willing to cut across the impersonal confusion of the well-organized city; they strive to help the Spanish surnamed who find it difficult to get along in the city.

The gatekeepers who have been identified here do not pursue random paths in their attempts to help, but they find that some ways are effective, and they use them again and again. These paths can be traced, and it is the networks of associations which the gatekeepers find useful in performing gatekeeping functions that have been described here. It cannot be assumed that these are the only networks of helpers which exist in the city, but these are some which do exist. They are a part of the interminably complex processes which are set in motion when one society finds itself engulfed by another.

CHAPTER IX

THE GATEKEEPER INFLUENTIALS

The gatekeeper study was primarily concerned with analyzing the systemic linkages which provide ties between the Spanish rural culture and the Anglo culture in the city. Some of the networks which exist in the intricate social milieu of an urban center for helping Spanish surnamed persons have been described. These networks provide channels of access for the Spanish surnamed to facilities and information which aid them in learning the social roles of urban dwellers. As has been seen, gatekeeping takes place through cliques of individuals who rely on each other to gain the resources which Spanish surnamed persons need.

Robert Presthus said, "Simply put, individuals of similar interests combine to achieve their ends, and such combinations of interlaced values and interests form subsystems of power. The community is composed of a congeries of such subsystems, now cooperating, now competing, now engaged, now moribund, in terms of the rise and fall of local issues."[1] The gatekeepers form subsystems such as Presthus referred to. The clique structures which were identified indicate that the gatekeeping system is not one unified group but is made up of small groups of persons representing various interests and emphases. The Cosmopolites, that is, the eight gatekeepers who have equally strong ties to more than one of the gatekeeping cliques, appear as a unifying superstructure which connects most of the cliques to each other. The presence of the Cosmopolites indicates that the gatekeeping system includes influentials who are relatively more important than others in the gatekeeping process. The very fact that a gatekeeper is a member of the Cosmopolites, however, does not mean that he is an influential in the gatekeeping system. It is apparent that a gatekeeper may have equally strong ties with two or more cliques and, at the same time, be relatively unimportant in the total gatekeeping system. It is also possible, on the basis of cluster analysis, to place a gatekeeper into a clique as a member because he interacts with most of the members of the clique, while his interaction with relatively fewer members of other cliques is overshadowed.

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[1] Robert Presthus, Men at the Top: A Study in Community Power (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 6.

Consequently, a separate analysis of the influence structure in the gatekeeping system was made. It must be pointed out that the measure of "influence" or "power" among the gatekeepers is based on the resourcefulness of the individual as a gatekeeper. The measure is an estimate of the dependence which is exercised towards a gatekeeper by other members of the gatekeeping system. The influential gatekeeper is one who is perceived by other gatekeepers as useful in the attempt to gain access to community resources. To be an influential in the gatekeeping system may well imply that one is influential in other spheres of activity, but the measure of influence here is based only on gatekeeping activity. It is here agreed with Merton that, "men with power to affect the economic life-chances of a large group may exert little interpersonal influence in other spheres: the power to withhold jobs from people may not result in directly influencing their political or associational or religious behavior."[2] Thus, conclusions about influential gatekeepers and other spheres of activity are not drawn here, for there is no empirical basis for making such inferences.

A unique method for measuring influence on the basis of sociometric data was devised in collaboration with Drs. William N. McPhee and Robert C. Hanson.[3] The technique involves the application of matrix algebra to the matrix of citations which represent the contacts between the members of the gatekeeper sample. The same matrix of contacts between gatekeepers is used to which the cluster analytic technique was applied, but the five members who were dropped from the interpretation of the cluster analysis are not included here. Excluding these five members reduced the figure to a 68 by 68 square matrix. It will be recalled that the sum of the entries of the rows across the matrix reflect the total number of other gatekeepers which a gatekeeper contacts in the process of helping persons of Spanish descent. The sum of the entries down the columns of the matrix indicate the total number of other gatekeepers in the system who contact a gatekeeper.

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[2] Merton, Social Theory..., p. 419.

[3] Drs. William N. McPhee and Robert C. Hanson are professors in the Department of Sociology at the University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado.

It was found that by raising the matrix of gatekeeper contacts to powers a particularly meaningful measure of each member's importance to the system could be determined. In the original matrix the column sum for each gatekeeper depicts the number of other gatekeepers who are contacting an individual. The column totals enable one to compare gatekeepers to see who is contacted most often and, in a sense, then, considered to be most useful by other gatekeepers. Juan Defender, for instance, is contacted by more gatekeepers than any other member of the system, which indicates that he is considered a useful contact by more gatekeepers than any other member of the gatekeeping system. The process of squaring the matrix tells how many persons are in contact with a gatekeeper indirectly through someone else who contacts the gatekeeper directly. For example, Pablo In may not contact Juan Defender directly, but Pablo contacts Alonso Cosmos, and Alonso is in contact with Juan. Pablo through Alonso has access to Juan and the help he can provide as a gatekeeper. It also means that Juan's importance is increased, for he not only helps Alonso, but also helps Pablo through Alonso. Indeed, the contact is one step removed and is a weaker link than direct contact, but it is weighted accordingly in the analysis. Juan's importance through second-hand contacts increases more slowly than it does through personal contacts. Accordingly, the cube of the matrix represents contacts two steps removed, a matrix to power four would represent contacts three steps removed, and so on. The summed column scores for a gatekeeper at the end of the n^{th} power of the matrix is a score which represents the importance of the gatekeeper relative to other gatekeepers in the system.

The column score which results from the $\Sigma M + M^2 + \cdots + M^n$ is not only dependent on the number of contacts initiated towards a gatekeeper, but it also depends on the importance of the gatekeepers who are contacting him. Thus, a person may be contacted by a large number of gatekeepers, but, if the persons who are contacting him are unimportant in terms of the sociometrics of the gatekeeping system, the gatekeeper will have a lower column score, or influence score, than a gatekeeper with fewer contacts which originate from important persons in the gatekeeper sociometric.

The 68 by 68 matrix of gatekeepers is too unwieldy to use in explaining precisely what the technique means in sociological terms; therefore, an example will be used to illustrate the method and its potential. Consider a soicometric which includes four members: Jack, Tom, Peter, and Sam. The context is defined as that of members knowing and not knowing each other. Then let

$$\begin{array}{lcccc} & \text{Jack} & \text{Tom} & \text{Peter} & \text{Sam} \\ \text{Jack} & 0 & X & X & X \\ \text{Tom} & X & 0 & X & 0 \\ \text{Peter} & X & X & 0 & 0 \\ \text{Sam} & X & 0 & 0 & 0 \end{array}$$

represent the matrix of relationships in the four-member groups. The X's across the rows in the matrix indicate which members of the group the members down the columns know. Tom, for example, knows Jack and Peter, but he does not know Sam. The X's down the columns of the matrix indicate by whom a member is known. For example, Jack is known by Tom, Peter, and Sam. The symmetry which obtains in this example is not a requirement of the method but is a peculiarity of the example.

Assume that each member of the matrix has a total potential for knowing others which can be expressed by a number. In other words, it is assumed that each member has a total amount of expendable energy which can be used in knowing other persons. In our example, it is also assumed that each person has the same potential for knowing other persons. Let the potential to know others be equal to .800. It is important to set the number here to less than 1.00 for this permits the matrix to decay as it is raised to powers. If this requirement is met, then $M+M^2 + \cdots + M^n$ will represent a complete exhaustion of the matrix; that is, all cell entries will be reduced to zero. It should also be noted that $\Sigma\, I+M+M^2+\cdots+M^n = (I-M)^{-1}$ where $(I-M)^{-1}$ is the inverse of the matrix. The inverse of the matrix in our example would mean that all possible ways of any one member knowing another through the sample population would be exploited, and the sum of the columns of the inverse matrix would be a score representing how well each individual in the sample is known.

The parameter, .800, which establishes the relative weight given to the influence of extended relations, is arbitrary, but selection of the parameter is not meaningless to the analysis. It is apparent that a parameter of .500 would result in a system which would give much less influence to the more extended relations than a system with a parameter of .999. The M^n would be arrived at after fewer powers in the lower parameter system than in a higher parameter system.

The idea of accumulating influence through extended relations is important. In a rapidly decaying system less emphasis is placed on persons who are further removed from an individual. If a very low parameter is used, .250 for instance, the measure of influence will depend largely on relationships which are only one step removed from direct contact with a person. For .250 squared is reduced to .138, and the cube is only 062. Thus, selection of the parameter is dependent on the emphasis which the analyst places on relations which are extended beyond direct contact.

In the example presented here, a parameter of .800 means that the measure of influence is primarily based on relations through three removes. The square of .800 decreases the parameter to .640, the cube equals .410, and the fourth power leaves a residual of .168. The selection of .800 means that relations which go beyond a person being known by someone through three other persons are not considered to be important in measuring influence. The following example clearly illustrates the use of the technique.

It is also assumed that all persons who are known by a sample member use an equal portion of the member's influence weight. This assumption of equality is not a requirement of the analytic technique, but there is no basis for assigning other than equal portions.

On the basis of the above criteria the matrix for our example is as follows:

$$\begin{array}{l} \\ \text{Jack} \\ \text{Tom} \\ \text{Peter} \\ \text{Sam} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \begin{array}{cccc} \text{Jack} & \text{Tom} & \text{Peter} & \text{Sam} \end{array} \\ \begin{pmatrix} .000 & .266 & .266 & .266 \\ .400 & .000 & .400 & .000 \\ .400 & .400 & .000 & .000 \\ .800 & .000 & .000 & .000 \end{pmatrix} \end{array}$$

The rule for matrix multiplication is "the product of two matrices A and B is defined as the matrix

$$AB = \begin{pmatrix} R_1C_1 & R_1C_2 \ldots & R_1C_p \\ R_2C_1 & R_2C_2 \ldots & R_2C_p \\ \vdots & \vdots & \vdots \\ R_mC_1 & R_mC_2 \ldots & R_mC_p \end{pmatrix}$$

thus, the element in the ith row and the jth column of AB is the product of the ith row A and the jth column B, this product being R_iC_j ...."[4]

In our example the solution for M^4 is

$$M = \begin{array}{cc} & \begin{array}{cccc} \text{Jack} & \text{Tom} & \text{Peter} & \text{Sam} \end{array} \\ \begin{array}{c} \text{Jack} \\ \text{Tom} \\ \text{Peter} \\ \text{Sam} \end{array} & \begin{pmatrix} .000 & .266 & .266 & .266 \\ .400 & .000 & .400 & .000 \\ .400 & .400 & .000 & .000 \\ .800 & .000 & .000 & .000 \end{pmatrix} \end{array},$$

$$M^2 = MM =$$

$$\begin{array}{ccc} & \begin{array}{cccc} \text{Jack} & \text{Tom} & \text{Peter} & \text{Sam} \end{array} & \begin{array}{cccc} \text{Jack} & \text{Tom} & \text{Peter} & \text{Sam} \end{array} \\ \begin{array}{c} \text{Jack} \\ \text{Tom} \\ \text{Peter} \\ \text{Sam} \end{array} & \begin{pmatrix} .000 & .266 & .266 & .266 \\ .400 & .000 & .400 & .000 \\ .400 & .400 & .000 & .000 \\ .800 & .000 & .000 & .000 \end{pmatrix} & \begin{pmatrix} .000 & .266 & .266 & .266 \\ .400 & .000 & .400 & .000 \\ .400 & .400 & .000 & .000 \\ .800 & .000 & .000 & .000 \end{pmatrix} \end{array} =$$

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[4] Samuel Goldberg, Introduction to Difference Equations (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1961), p. 212.

$$\begin{array}{rc} & \begin{array}{cccc} \text{Jack} & \text{Tom} & \text{Peter} & \text{Sam} \end{array} \\ \begin{array}{r} \text{Jack} \\ \text{Tom} \\ \text{Peter} \\ \text{Sam} \end{array} & \begin{pmatrix} .426 & .106 & .106 & .000 \\ .160 & .266 & .106 & .106 \\ .160 & .106 & .266 & .106 \\ .000 & .213 & .213 & .213 \end{pmatrix} \end{array} = M^2 ,$$

$$M^3 = M^2M =$$

$$\begin{array}{rcc} & \begin{array}{cccc} \text{Jack} & \text{Tom} & \text{Peter} & \text{Sam} \end{array} & \begin{array}{cccc} \text{Jack} & \text{Tom} & \text{Peter} & \text{Sam} \end{array} \\ \begin{array}{r} \text{Jack} \\ \text{Tom} \\ \text{Peter} \\ \text{Sam} \end{array} & \begin{pmatrix} .426 & .106 & .106 & .000 \\ .160 & .266 & .106 & .106 \\ .160 & .106 & .266 & .106 \\ .000 & .213 & .213 & .213 \end{pmatrix} & \begin{pmatrix} .000 & .266 & .266 & .266 \\ .400 & .000 & .400 & .000 \\ .400 & .400 & .000 & .000 \\ .800 & .000 & .000 & .000 \end{pmatrix} \end{array} =$$

$$\begin{array}{rc} & \begin{array}{cccc} \text{Jack} & \text{Tom} & \text{Peter} & \text{Sam} \end{array} \\ \begin{array}{r} \text{Jack} \\ \text{Tom} \\ \text{Peter} \\ \text{Sam} \end{array} & \begin{pmatrix} .084 & .155 & .155 & .113 \\ .233 & .085 & .149 & .043 \\ .233 & .149 & .085 & .043 \\ .340 & .085 & .085 & .000 \end{pmatrix} \end{array} = M^3 ,$$

$$M^4 = M^3M =$$

$$\begin{array}{rcc} & \begin{array}{cccc} \text{Jack} & \text{Tom} & \text{Peter} & \text{Sam} \end{array} & \begin{array}{cccc} \text{Jack} & \text{Tom} & \text{Peter} & \text{Sam} \end{array} \\ \begin{array}{r} \text{Jack} \\ \text{Tom} \\ \text{Peter} \\ \text{Sam} \end{array} & \begin{pmatrix} .084 & .155 & .155 & .113 \\ .233 & .085 & .149 & .042 \\ .233 & .149 & .085 & .043 \\ .340 & .085 & .085 & .000 \end{pmatrix} & \begin{pmatrix} .000 & .266 & .266 & .266 \\ .400 & .000 & .400 & .000 \\ .400 & .400 & .000 & .000 \\ .800 & .000 & .000 & .000 \end{pmatrix} \end{array} =$$

$$\begin{array}{rc} & \begin{array}{cccc} \text{Jack} & \text{Tom} & \text{Peter} & \text{Sam} \end{array} \\ \begin{array}{r} \text{Jack} \\ \text{Tom} \\ \text{Peter} \\ \text{Sam} \end{array} & \begin{pmatrix} .214 & .084 & .084 & .022 \\ .128 & .122 & .096 & .062 \\ .128 & .096 & .122 & .062 \\ .068 & .124 & .124 & .090 \end{pmatrix} \end{array} = M^4 .$$

Further multiplications would lead to smaller and smaller cell entries, and eventually they would go to zero. In order to demonstrate the meaning of the mathematical manipulations the scores in the cell entries in the columns of M^2 will be spelled out in detail.

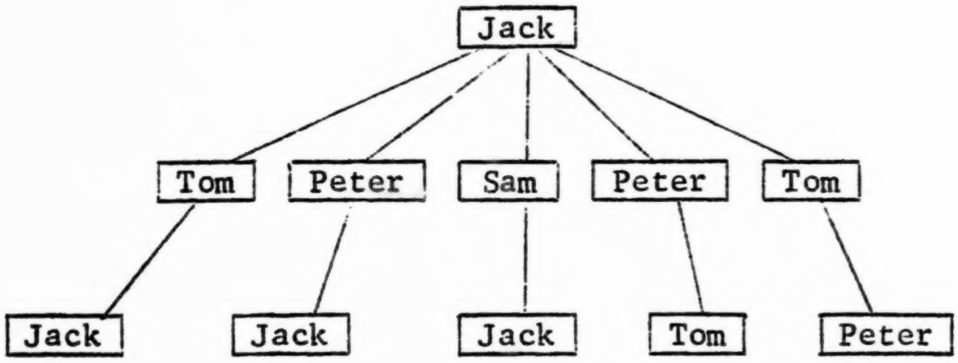
Jack's Score (Column 1; M^2)

Cell entry 1 = (row 1; M)(column 1; M) = Jack knows Tom; Tom knows Jack; Jack knows Jack through Tom + Jack knows Peter; Peter knows Jack; Jack knows Jack through Peter + Jack knows Sam; Sam knows Jack; Jack knows Jack through Sam = .426.

Cell entry 2 = (row 2; M)(column 1; M) = Tom knows Peter; Peter knows Jack; Tom knows Jack through Peter = .160.

Cell entry 3 = (row 3; M)(column 1 M) = Peter knows Tom; Tom knows Jack; Peter knows Jack through Tom = .160.

Cell entry 4 = (row 4; M)(column 1; M) = Sam doesn't know Jack through anyone else = .000.



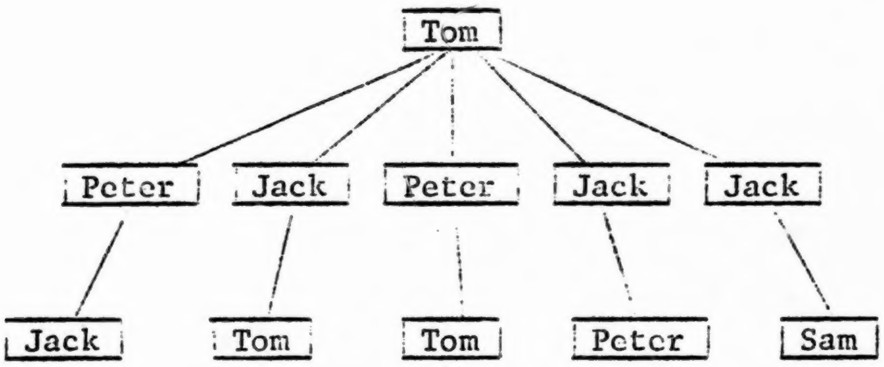
Tom's Score (Column 2; M^2).

Cell entry 1 = (row 1; M)(column 2; M) = Jack knows Peter; Peter knows Tom; Jack knows Tom through Peter = .106.

Cell entry 2 = (row 2; M)(column 2; M) = Tom knows Jack; Jack knows Tom; Tom knows Tom through Jack + Tom knows Peter; Peter knows Tom; Tom knows Tom through Peter = .266.

Cell entry 3 = (row 3; M)(column 2; M) = Peter knows Jack; Jack knows Tom; Peter knows Tom through Jack = .106.

Cell entry 4 = (row 4; M)(column 2; M) = Sam knows Jack; Jack knows Tom; Sam knows Tom through Jack = .213.


Tom
Peter
Jack
Peter
Jack
Jack
Jack
Tom
Tom
Peter
Sam

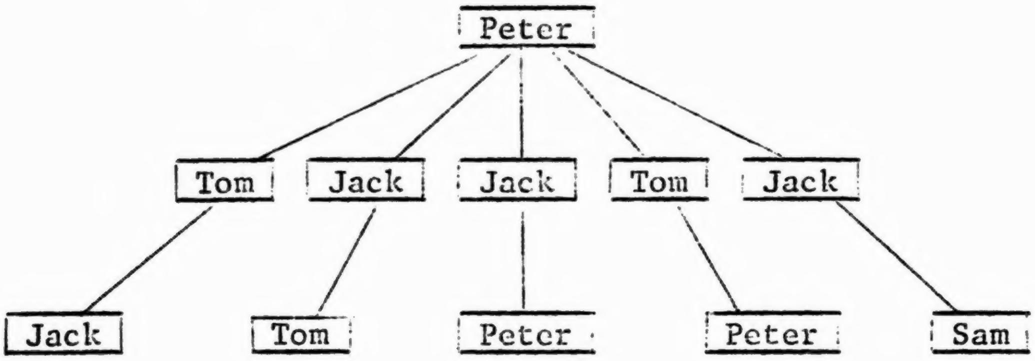
Peter's Score (Column 3; M^2)

Cell entry 1 = (row 1; M)(column 3; M) = Jack knows Tom; Tom knows Peter; Jack knows Peter through Tom = .106.

Cell entry 2 = (row 2; M)(column 3; M) = Tom knows Jack; Jack knows Peter; Tom knows Peter through Jack = .106.

Cell entry 3 = (row 3; M)(column 3; M) = Peter knows Jack; Jack knows Peter; Peter knows Peter through Jack + Peter knows Tom; Tom knows Peter; Peter knows Peter through Tom = .266.

Cell entry 4 = (row 4; M)(column 3; M) = Sam knows Jack; Jack knows Peter; Sam knows Peter through Jack = .213.


Peter
Tom
Jack
Jack
Tom
Jack
Jack
Tom
Peter
Peter
Sam

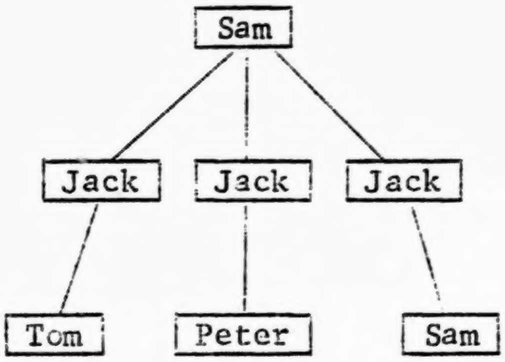
Sam's Score (Column 4; M^2)

Cell entry 1 = (row 1; M)(column 4; M) = Jack doesn't know Sam through anyone else = .000.

Cell entry 2 = (row 2; M)(column 4; M) = Tom knows Jack; Jack knows Sam; Tom knows Sam through Jack = .106.

Cell entry 3 = (row 3; M)(column 4; M) = Peter knows Jack; Jack knows Sam; Peter knows Sam through Jack = .106.

Cell entry 4 = (row 4; M)(column 4; M) = Sam knows Jack; Jack knows Sam; Sam knows Sam through Jack = .213.



The first obvious characteristic of M^2 is that it is a measure of the quantity of being known by others at one step removed. The original matrix M assigned values to persons who knew each other first hand, and M^2 assigns a value to a member on the basis that he is known to someone indirectly through an intermediary, that is, through another member in the group. It should be noted that to be known to someone directly is of greater value than to be known to him through an intermediary. For instance, Jack knows Tom directly, and this gives Tom a weight of .266, but Jack's knowing Tom through Peter in M^2 gives Tom a weight of only .106.

Jack knows everyone, so to be known by Jack results in a relatively low initial score, for his total potential for knowing others, which was assumed to be .800, is divided among all the members of the group. But to be known by Jack is important because, if Jack knows you, you are known to everyone else through Jack, for Jack knows everyone. M^2 depicts this phenomena precisely. It is important to be known by Jack; he is the key link in the social system, for through him there is access to everyone else in the system.

Sam demonstrates the opposite case. To be known by him results in a large score initially, for he knows only one member in the system. But you cannot become known to anyone else through Sam, for Sam doesn't know anyone else. Thus, to be known by Sam doesn't lead to a broader circle of social contacts.

The system of social contacts increases in complexity as the matrix is raised to powers. The M^3 column scores represent the values for being known by someone through two other persons. As an example, the elements resulting in the score for cell 1 of Jack's column score in M^3 will be traced; it will suffice to illustrate the meaning of the technique in sociological terms.

Jack's Score (Cell 1, Column 1; M^3)

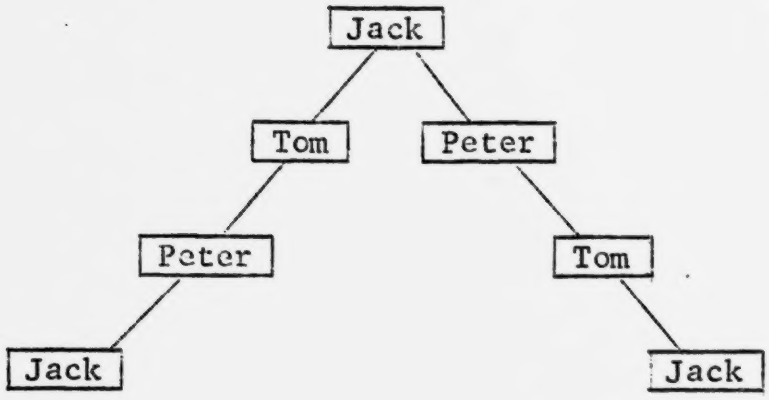
Cell entry 1 = (cell at intersection of column 1, row 1; M^2)(cell at intersection of column 1, row 1; M) = (Jack knows himself through everyone else)(Jack does not know himself through himself) = .000

+ (cell at intersection of column 2, row 1; M^2)(cell at intersection of column 1, row 2; M) = (Jack knows Peter; Peter knows Tom; Tom knows Jack; Jack knows Jack because he knows Peter, Peter knows Tom, and Tom knows Jack. Thus, Jack is known to Jack at two persons removed.) = .042

+ (cell at intersection of column 3, row 1, M^2)(cell at intersection of column 1, row 3; M) = (Jack knows Tom; Tom knows Peter; Peter knows Jack; Jack knows Jack because he knows Tom, Tom knows Peter, and Peter knows Jack) = .042

+ (cell at intersection of column 3, row 1; M^2)(cell at intersection of column 1, row 4; M) = Sam doesn't know anyone else except Jack, so Sam doesn't add to Jack's score of being known at the second remove.) = .000 = .000 + .042 + .042 + .000 = .084 = Cell 1, Column 1; M^3.

A diagram of the relationships represented by the total score of cell 1, column 1; M^3 is as follows:



The foregoing examples illustrate how the column score for each individual is generated. In a sense, it measures the social accessibility of an individual, and the more social contacts he has with others who have many social contacts, the greater is the access to him. The final column totals for the members in our example are:

$$\Sigma M+M^2+M^3+M^4 = \begin{pmatrix} \text{Jack} & 3.774 \\ \text{Tom} & 2.257 \\ \text{Peter} & 2.257 \\ \text{Sam} & 1.126 \end{pmatrix} .$$

Jack is the best known person in the four member group, for his score of being known, 3.774, exceeds that of Tom, Peter, or Sam. The facts that Jack knows everyone and that everyone knows Jack perpetuate his potential for becoming known, for all social avenues lead to and from him. Tom and Peter have the same scores, for they have equal social avenues. Sam has the lowest score, for he has only Jack to perpetuate his potential for becoming known.

An unfortunate aspect of using a small group as an example is that the channels through which persons can become known are highly repetitive, and the analysis does not give conclusions which were not possible on the basis of the original matrix. This, of course, is not the case in a large social matrix, such as the gatekeeper sample. In a large sample, social avenues open to the members are highly complex, but this technique produces final scores which permit the research to identify key persons with precision which would otherwise be impossible.

In the analysis of the gatekeeping system it was assumed that each gatekeeper had a potential of .800 energy to use in contacting other gatekeepers. It was also assumed that each contact he made consumed an equal amount of that energy. For instance, if a gatekeeper made ten contacts in the gatekeeping system, each contact he made received a weight of .080. It was assumed that in relation to the process of gatekeeping it was not useful to be contacted beyond four persons removed; that is, it was felt that contacts with a gatekeeper which went through four intermediaries represented a limit in removes which were useful for consideration in the gatekeeping process. This assumption was based on arbitrary considerations, and it is apparent that in other social processes more or less removes might be considered. For instance, in a political election a candidate is known through many intermediaries; it is the long chains of intermediaries which link the voter to the candidate, and in this case one would be interested in persons related to the candidate through many persons.

Table 34 presents the column totals, that is, the influence scores for the 15 top influentials in the gatekeeping system. The influence score for each gatekeeper is his column total in the $\Sigma M+M^2+M^3+M^4+M^5$. It should be recalled that the influence score of the gatekeeper is based on the number of contacts which flow towards him from other gatekeepers. The influence score for a gatekeeper includes direct contacts, contacts through one intermediary, contacts through two intermediaries, contacts through three intermediaries, and contacts through four intermediaries. The cutoff point for including gatekeepers as influentials was 3.728. The highest influence score not included in the table is 3.439.

The table also includes "ranks for being contacted." The 68 gatekeepers were ranked according to the numbers of gatekeepers who were contacting them directly. Juan, for example, has rank 1, which indicates that he is contacted by more gatekeepers in the sample than any other gatekeeper. Rev. Jacobo with rank 30.5, on the other hand, is contacted by fewer members of the sample than any other gatekeeper influential. The ranks for ties in being contacted are averaged, so there are persons with equal ranks in the table. The third column in the table lists the clique affiliations of the gatekeeper influentials.

The five most influential members of the gatekeepers follow an expected pattern, for Juan with the highest influence score also has rank 1 for being contacted by more gatekeepers than anyone else.

TABLE 34

INFLUENCE SCORE AND RANK OF CONTACT

Gatekeepers	Influence Score	Rank for Being Contacted	Clique Membership
Juan	14.238	1	The Defenders
Demetrio	10.591	2	The Cosmopolites
Alonso	8.468	3	The Cosmopolites
Jose	8.403	4	The Cosmopolites
Miguel	6.900	5	The Defenders
Carlos	6.731	13.5	The Cosmopolites
Urban	5.938	6	The Ins
Rev. Jacobo	5.404	30.5	The Redeemers
Antonio	4.552	9	The Ins
Armando	4.163	9	The Cosmopolites
Manuel	4.107	11.5	The Defenders
Benito	3.923	11.5	The Cosmopolites
Irene	3.855	9	The Cosmopolites
Faith	3.855	17.5	The Staple Circle
Ricardo	3.728	25.5	The Ins

Demetrio has the second highest influence score and is contacted by the second highest number of gatekeepers. The pattern holds true down through Miguel who is the fifth most influential gatekeeper and also holds rank 5 for being contacted. But beyond that the similarity between rank in being contacted and influence score does not remain consistent.

Carlos is the sixth most influential person, but in terms of being contacted he holds rank 13.5. There are seven gatekeepers who are contacted by more gatekeepers than Carlos and one other member who is contacted by the same number of gatekeepers as Carlos, but Carlos is more influential than they are. The seven members who are contacted by more gatekeepers than Carlos are contacted by gatekeepers who are similar to Sam in our example. They are contacted by gatekeepers who know relatively few other gatekeepers, so being contacted by them leads only to limited other social connections.

Rev. Jacobo presents the most extreme example of disjunction between influence score and rank of being contacted. He has the eighth highest influence score but holds a rank of only 30.5 for being contacted. There are 20 gatekeepers who rank higher than Rev. Jacobo in being contacted, and there are five other gatekeepers who are contacted by an equal number of other gatekeepers. The influence of Rev. Jacobo, as that of Carlos, is based on the fact that he is associating with important members of the system, and it is the network of important gatekeepers with which he is involved that makes him influential. The lack of dependence for the influence score on the rank for being contacted indicates that it is not how many people one knows that counts, but who one knows.

The Cosmopolites, who provide links between the cliques of gatekeepers, are likely to be influential members of the gatekeeping system. Only one of the Cosmopolites, Erasmus, is not an influential.

He had an influence score of 1.907. Erasmus is a non-Spanish gatekeeper who is contacted because of his occupational status in the Department of Welfare. His affiliations with three cliques, the Rehabilitators, the City Face, and the Watchers, are equally strong, but he is not a powerful figure in the gatekeeping system. The only important gatekeepers who contact him are Jose and Irene, while the rest of the persons in contact with him are relatively isolated members in the gatekeeping system.

The remaining seven Cosmopolites work with influential members of the gatekeeping system, and they all appear as gatekeeper influentials. The seven Cosmopolites also represent important occupational positions in the community. Demetrio and Armando are successful attorneys. Demetrio is presently a member of the state legislature, and Armando is a past member of that governing body. Alonso is a general agent for a surety company, but, more importantly, he is the head of the Rebeldes, a militant political organization which receives close attention from the political machines because of the number of votes it controls. Jose is second only to Juan in administrative status in the Department of Welfare. Carlos, as safety supervisor for the city and liaison to the mayor for the Spanish surnamed, occupies a strategic position. Benito was formerly the director of the public housing program in the city, and Irene is the director of the Civic Mediation Board. Irene is one of the only two non-Spanish persons who are influentials in the gatekeeping system.

The Defenders and the Ins are elite cliques, for both of them have three members who are influentials in the gatekeeping system. The influentials from these two cliques also hold important occupational positions. The three members of the Defenders who are influentials include Juan, an important administrator in the Department of Welfare, and Manuel and Miguel who are both successful attorneys. The influentials from the Ins include Urban, director of the city's Youth Employment Service; Antonio, a physician; and Ricardo, a dentist.

Rev. Jacobo is a member of the Redeemers. He is also an important member of the Spanish community. He has been a priest at the largest Spanish parish in the city for almost 30 years and has promoted many programs aimed at assisting Spanish-Americans in the community. Faith is a member of the Staple Circle. Occupationally she has no status, for she is a divorcee who depends on the Department of Welfare for economic support. But Faith has become an important representative of those who find themselves economically dependent on urban gratuities. She has been selected as a spokesman for the indigent by the leaders of a federally sponsored program against poverty. Faith is a non-Spanish gatekeeper who is influential in the gatekeeping system because she uses influentials in her attempts to help indigent families, many of which are of Spanish descent.

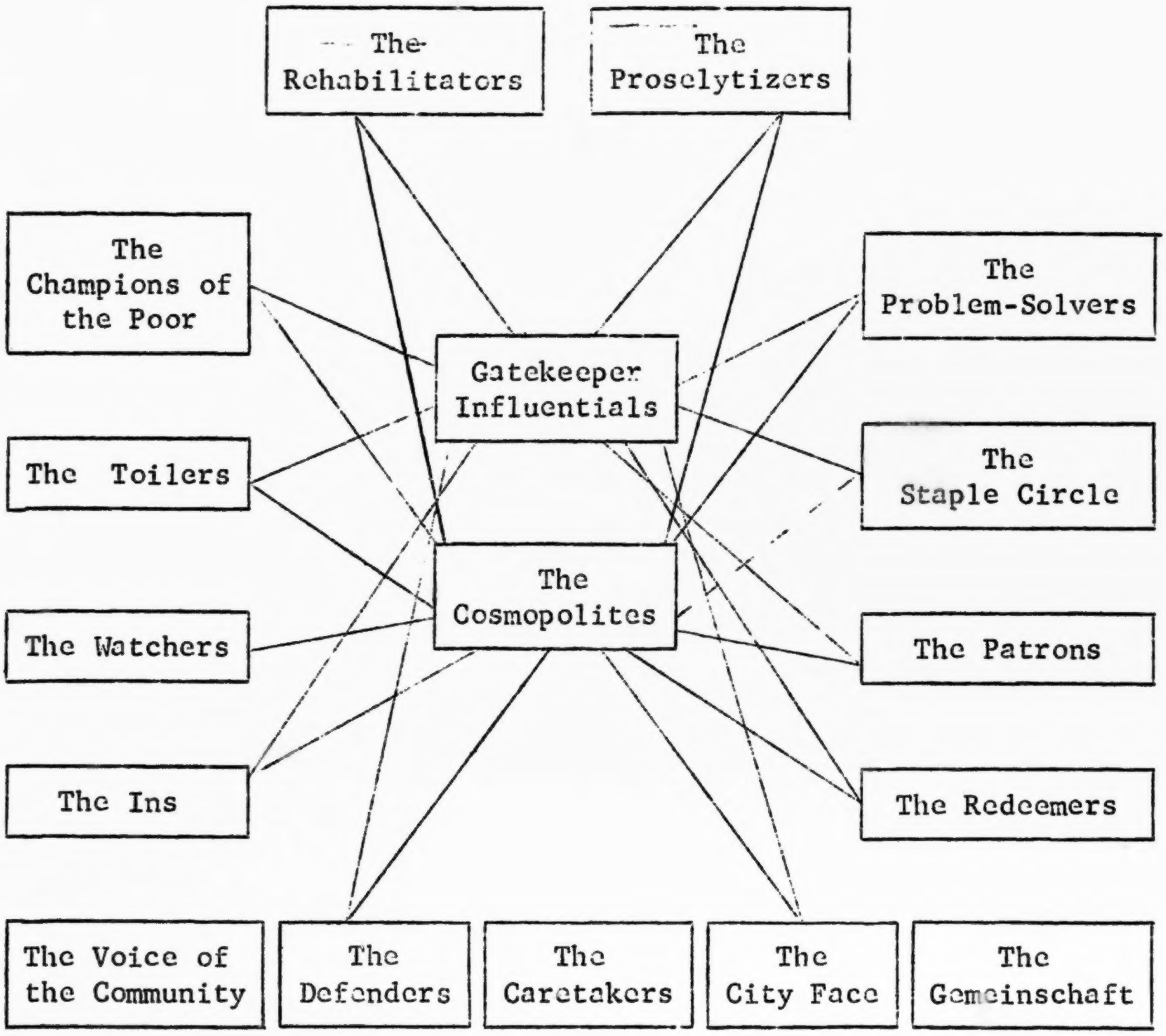
The analysis of the influence structure in the gatekeeping system enables one to determine who the most important gatekeepers are in the system. It also presents more information about the ties which exist between the cliques of gatekeepers. The gatekeeper influentials, who hold membership in cliques, re-enforce the links between cliques. The Defenders, the Ins, the Redeemers, and the

Staple Circle are linked through the gatekeeper influentials. Thus, although the Staple Circle is linked to other cliques only through secondary contacts with the Cosmopolites (see Figure 3), the clique is directly linked to the gatekeeper influentials through Faith. Figure 4 presents the linkages between the cliques based on the integrating effects of the Cosmopolites and the gatekeeper influentials. The Voice of the Community, the Gemeinschaft, and the Caretakers remain outside of the networks of contacts which tie the other cliques together.

The analytic technique which has been introduced here gives insight into the structure of influence in the gatekeeping system. It enables one to isolate the most resourceful gatekeepers in the system. They are resourceful in terms of other gatekeepers' dependency on them for carrying out gatekeeping functions. The analysis also confirms the links between the cliques of gatekeepers which were uncovered in the cluster analysis.

FIGURE 4

COSMOPOLITES AND INFLUENTIALS


The Rehabilitators
The Proselytizers
The Champions of the Poor
The Problem-Solvers
Gatekeeper Influentials
The Toilers
The Staple Circle
The Cosmopolites
The Watchers
The Patrons
The Ins
The Redeemers
The Voice of the Community
The Defenders
The Caretakers
The City Face
The Gemeinschaft

Note: The Staple Circle is not directly in contact with the Cosmopolites, and the broken line indicates this. The Watchers are not linked to the gatekeeper influentials. Ten of the cliques have direct links to both the Cosmopolites and the gatekeeper influentials. Three of the cliques, The Voice of the Community, The Gemeinschaft, and The Caretakers, are not related to the Cosmopolites or the Gatekeeper Influentials.

CHAPTER X

GATEKEEPERS IN ACTION

An analysis of interaction among persons, such as the one attempted in this study, has a tendency to dehumanize individuals. Although a sociologist must never forget the human beings he studies, he may speak as if his concern was that of symbols or mathematical formulas. If the results of this study are relevant, they are so only in so far as they may be utilized to relieve human pain or need. It is, therefore, essential that an unvarnished transcription of accounts of gatekeeping be presented. Such is the nature of this chapter. It is a reminder that gatekeepers are persons who, as they serve a specific function in relation to the Spanish-American community of the city and county of Denver, are individualized human beings. As they speak, their roles and their attitudes toward them become apparent.

The gatekeeping system is composed of individuals who act as links for the Spanish-American between the Spanish rural way of living and the urban ways of Anglos. The individual gatekeepers are organized into cliques, and they perform the functions of gatekeeping through familiar social channels which they have tested and found useful in helping persons of Spanish descent. Twelve of the 15 cliques are linked to each other through individuals who are cosmopolitan in their gatekeeping associations. Uncovering these structural properties of an informal process is interesting, and the study sheds light on the way in which the system operates effectively within the formal organizations and institutions of the metropolis.

The individual gatekeeper, however, is perhaps only incidentally aware of the structural framework within which he operates. The person who takes part in gatekeeping is far more aware of another reality. He is aware of the people who come to him and of the trouble and misfortune which mark their lives. He is aware of the hopelessness and despair which is endured when no help can be found. He thinks of gatekeeping in terms of both the important and the insignificant problems which consume his time and energy.

The gatekeeper sees his activity in terms of events, in terms of specific instances in which he became involved in the life of someone in difficulty. This aspect of gatekeeping can be best described by repeating the gatekeepers' accounts of helping. In this chapter edited stories of gatekeeping events will be presented as they were told by the gatekeepers. The names of the gatekeepers who told the stories and the names of the persons in the stories have been withheld.

His Friend Left

I have worked with a family who came to the city from New Mexico. They were successful there. They owned a farm, but the father thought it was too small for his family. A friend of his had come to the city, and the friend urged him to sell his farm and come to the city to better himself. So, one day the man sold his farm, and he put his family in the car and came to the city. His wife was afraid to come to the city; she was afraid of what would happen to her seven children, but the husband wanted his family to have a better life. When they got to the city they looked for the friend, but they couldn't find him. The friend left the city before the man came.

He had money from selling the farm, so he rented a place to stay. But at first he couldn't find a job. He did not know where to go for a job; he had no skill; he spoke very poor English; he didn't know anyone in the city. Then the construction season came, and he got a job at hard manual labor. It was a good job for him; he never made so much money in his whole life. Then Fall came, and he lost his job. He couldn't find another job, so he couldn't provide for his family. Finally the mother got a job, but this was bad, for now the father lost face in the family, and his children lost respect for him. Although the father never had trouble with drinking, he now began to drink heavily.

The oldest son quit school after the eighth grade, not for the sake of the family, but for himself. He wanted to have money to spend in the city. At this time,I became involved with the family, for I got a free bicycle for the boy so he could work at Western Union as a messenger boy. The boy found out that he couldn't make much money at the job, so he took a job in a restuarant as a waiter, and he quit his job at Western Union. Again, he found out that the money was too little and that he couldn't find a good job. He decided that he would go back to school. The father wouldn't let him quit working, for, you see, he was taking the money that the boy was earning. I tried to talk to the father, but nothing helped; he wanted the boy to work. The boy became very angry with his father, and it ended up that he left home and rented his own place.

The family had been moving from one place to another. They would pay their rent for a month, and then they would get behind in rent, but they would stay until they were evicted. Then they would find another place and do the same thing all over. In all this moving the children were also moved from one school to another, and so they had a lot of trouble in school. They simply weren't used to this, for in New Mexico they always lived in the same house and went to the same school. The children started skipping school a lot and couldn't keep up with their studies. For one thing, their house was too cold in the morning, so they stayed in bed where it was warm. They didn't have enough to eat, either. I managed to get the schools to provide free lunches for the kids, so at least they had one hot meal when they went to school.

This is a family that didn't make it in the city. The whole family deteriorated. The father wanted to go back to New Mexico, but he had sold his farm, and he just couldn't face up to going back to all his friends. By this time the family liked the city, and they didn't want to live on a farm, so when the father would make up his mind to go back, they would refuse to go. Then one day the father was gone, and since then he hasn't been in touch with the family. I helped to get Welfare for the mother, and they are still here living in public housing and depending on checks from Welfare. I [illegible] this family a lot. I got free food orders for them. I contacted churches for donations of clothing, and I talked their landlords out of rent. I even got a few short time jobs for the husband, but now the family circle is broken up, and they are just barely getting along. Here is an example of a family who came to the city because of a friend, but the friend had left the city, and they just couldn't get along in the city.

He Was Organized

Let me tell you about a family that came to the city about eight years ago. They were rural people from the southern part of the State. They lived there on a very small farm, and with four children it wasn't big enough to provide for them. The husband had a job down there driving a truck for the county, but election came and the new politicians took his job from him. The farm didn't produce enough for them to live on, and the father had to do something. So they came to the city, but they didn't sell their farm. They wanted to keep it in case things didn't go well in the city. The man and his wife could read and write, so they had some advantages. He found a job as a dishwasher, and he still works at the same job. He is a good organizer, a good saver, and he plans ahead. He is not unhappy with his job, and, even though it doesn't pay well, he is able to work the year around, and it enables them to plan their spending carefully.

One day the man called me--that's how I came to know him--and he told me that his daughter had quit school. He was very upset about it, for he was anxious for his children to get an education. Well, she quit school on a Monday, on Wednesday she got a job, on Thursday I talked to her and her folks, and on the next Monday she was back in school. She got the idea that she wasn't getting enough money because her father made so little. She is the oldest one in the family, and now she is in a business college. You must know that this father wants no benefits from his children while they are young. He doesn't want them to quit school, and they are all doing well. This man was organized, and he is doing well on very little.

Two Kinds of Hustlers

Its the guy who hustles that makes it in the city, but you got to know that there are two kinds of hustlers. There was this Frank who came in here one day. We got to gabbing, and he tells me that he is new in town and needs a job. Before I got this bar here I was in the Pipefitters Union, so I have pull because I am still active in the Union. You see I've been made an officer in the outfit a coupla times. I couldn't get Frank on right away. You know there have to be jobs before you can get a guy on. But I got a little work here and there for him from places here on Skidrow. Then he got in the Union, and he has been working there for a coupla years. I staked Frank to groceries before he got work, but he paid back every dime. He has eight kids, and he's doing a good job. Now that's one kind of hustler.

Last summer a guy from Texas stopped in. We got to talking, and he wanted to know about work. I told him about the Union, but there wasn't anything right away. I went to this guy then who I know at the Rag Shop. Sure enough, I got him a job there right away; it wasn't much, but it was better than nothing. That night the guy came by and asked for money to buy food. So I says, "Okay," for I know you can't go without eating. Then the next day he asked me for money to put down on a place to live. I gave him enough, and that was the last time I ever saw him. The guy at the Rag Shop told me he paid him at the end of the week and that was the last thing they saw of him too. Now he's another kind of hustler. Too many times people see a little money and think they got it made, so they quit their job and live it up till the dough is gone. Then all of a sudden they wake up and don't have nothing to eat.

Incidental Relevancy

A lot of times we find out about people who need help by accident. That's what happened with Felimon. He came to the city from Montana. He and his family lived in an automobile for three days because they were broke. He was a self-made mechanic. and a good one at that, so he went down the street mooching repair jobs on cars. He just happened to run into this friend of mine and asked him if his car needed fixing. My friend told him his car was okay, but he had heard me say that mine really needed a tuneup. He brought the guy over to see me. He tuned up my car, and did a good job at it.

When he came to get the money I started talking to him, and heard his whole story. I started calling some of the Spanish professionals in town and asked them for donations. I got some money together, so we got a room for his family for a week, and everybody was taking their cars to him to get fixed. Somewhere along the line he ran into a guy with an old panel truck that didn't run. The man gave the panel to Felimon. Felimon fixed it up and started collecting junk besides fixing cars. Then he landed a job at a filling station.

It wasn't long till he came back to see me about a loan. He found out that I was on the board at Cathedral Credit. He wanted a loan to buy a filling station. Believe me, it was a sympathy loan, because he didn't have a thing, but he was trying so hard we just couldn't turn him down. Then time goes by and he comes back for another loan for a bigger station, and pretty soon he had two. Well that's the way things went, and today he could buy and sell most of us who helped him get a start. His two daughters are in college, and his two boys are at a military academy. And it was just an accident that he ran into a bunch of us who were ready to give him a chance.

The City Slickers

I got mixed up with this man who came to the city from down South about two years ago. He was a farmer down there and had a pretty good outfit. But he decided that he didn't like farming, and he heard things were so good in the city. He sold everything he had and came to the city. He had $20,000 in his pocket when he came, but he had no skills with which he could provide for his family in the city.

They were accustomed to living well on the farm, and so they rented an expensive home in the city. His wife wanted to impress people, and she started buying expensive clothes, and they really lived high for a while. But it didn't take long and all the money from selling the farm was gone. He could only find part time,menial kinds of jobs. They had very little income, and with six children it didn't take long before they were in trouble. Today the man and his family are on Welfare. He is a member of our church, and that's how I found out about him. I finally lined him up with a rehabilitation program, and now he is in training. He might be able to support his family some day. But already his three oldest children dropped out of high school, and he is just hoping that the others are able to finish. Here is a case where a family had money, and quite a bit of it, but no skills for city living. They lived high till the money was gone, then they found out how good it is in the city.

A Streak of Bad Luck

I have a trainee here at the Retraining Corps who has five children, and he is one of those who was replaced by automation. He used to work in one of those meat packing places. He was a meat cutter and a hide trimmer, but they got electric knives and electric trimmers, and they didn't need his skills anymore. So out he goes, and since then he has had nothing but bad luck. He is illiterate and that multiplies his problems. He's been floating from one job to another and never made enough money to support his family.

He got into our program. He gets general assistance money from Welfare, but it just isn't enough for them to get by on. He asked me one day, "You got something I could do for more money?" I said, "Look, I have. I need somebody to help me clean house. Do you think your wife could help me clean house?" "No," he said, "she's got a bad back. I have to do housecleaning at our house, like maybe wash walls and windows. But my daughter--if you would have patience--if you would teach her--maybe..." Well the little girl came. She's 15 years old, and she helped me Saturday. I gave her eight dollars, and my, what a happy little girl she was.

So when I met him Monday morning his eyes were blurry, and he was unshaven. I said, "How does your daughter feel?" He said, "I haven't seen her." I said, "What do you mean? I took your little girl home, and I watched from the car till she walked in your house." He was just looking down at his feet, and he mumbled, "Well, I haven't been home." "You haven't been home?" I asked, "What's the matter at home?" "Well we got our check from the Welfare," he said, "and its one week before Christmas, and my wife she was nagging me so much because there is so little money. I put my hat on my head, and out I walked. I went to a friend's house."

The way he looked and reeked of liquor, I wondered what kind of a friend he had. I said, "Oh, dear!" And he said, "I'm not going into that house again unless I can go in with some money because its impossible to live with that woman unless there is some money, and I wanted to talk to you about this. You know, they called me from the railroad where I usually work for Christmas, and they want me to come and work, but I think I have to be here for my training." I said, "Well, you can't sacrifice your classes because that job is just going to be for one week--so you get $40.00, then after that what have you got?"

He looked so sad, and said, "Well, I don't really know what to do. It is so hard to know what is best." So I said, "Come on up to my office." He came up, and I took $20.00 from my billfold and put it in his hand. I said, "You will get two weeks pay for training before Christmas, if you have enough left, you can pay me back." That man stood there and cried he was so grateful. I trust that sometime I will get my money back, if I don't, so I gambled and lost. But I feel that after having talked to the man that he is a conscientious man, and he has a wonderful attitude. He feels tremendous responsibility for his family, and he has just had a streak of bad luck. He needs just a little help. This morning I met him. He was clean, shaven, and beaming going up to his classes, and he yelled at me, "Everything's fine, everything's fine..."

It's Nothing Fancy

We get into the problems of people at the meetings of the Southern Colorado Club. Like the one night at a meeting this girl told us about a woman who came to the city with eight kids. Her husband beat her and the kids so much she ran away, came up to her sister here in town, and brought all eight kids with her. Her sister only has four rooms of her own, and she has three kids of her own, so things are really tough in that house. Like for Thanksgiving, they had nothing. So the girl who told us about her said, "What are we going to do about it?"

We started asking each other, "Does anybody in the club have an extra chair, an extra sheet, an extra blanket?" Sure, we all got extra things. So two of the boys have pickups, and we ended up with three pickup loads of stuff--well junk--old couches, old chairs, you name it, and it was there. Meanwhile we were looking for a house. Then somebody's cousin--you know we have cousins all over the place--somebody's cousin saw an apartment empty, and they asked the old lady about it. "Yeah" says the lady, "it's all yours." They didn't tell her the woman had eight kids. Who would rent a place to a woman with eight kids? So they told her, five kids. That was a coupla months ago, and the landlady hasn't said anything yet. Maybe she doesn't know there are eight kids.

Anyhow, we got money together for rent. A coupla mothers went with the woman and helped her enroll the kids in school. Then we started calling agencies. We called the Salvation Army, Goodwill, churches, and Welfare. You know I did a lot of that calling, because since I hurt my back, I been sitting at home with nothing to do. I called a friend in Welfare, and they are setting it up so the county down south will pay her welfare ticket until she has been here for six months, and then she will be transferred to the Welfare here. After six months the Welfare will get her a place to live in the projects. Then she'll be pretty well set. Everybody came through in this case, and we got that family on its feet. Mind you, it's nothing fancy, but she's living with more today than she's ever had.

I Never Met Her

I'm going to tell you about a mother--I've never met this woman. She called me up one day. I don't know how she found out who I was, but anyhow she called me. She said they had stopped her check for aid to dependent children, and she had no food in the house. I made a coupla phone calls to the Welfare Department. They said that her husband was living with her, and that is why she couldn't get her check for dependent children. I called the woman back, and she said, "No, he is gone." I found out from her that the husband's unemployment checks were being sent to her,but he wasn't there and she couldn't cash them. So I called up the Welfare Department and told them. They figured he was there because the unemployment checks were going there. This was a case where I was able to help a woman get her support back with a few phone calls, and I never even met her.

A Little Religion

A young man called me on the phone, by nature of my position as pastor of the church. He must have looked up my name in the phone book. He said he was from California and was a skilled meatcutter who needed a job. He said that his family still lived out west, and he wanted to get work so he could bring them out. He had gone to Wyoming from California and now hoped to be able to establish himself in our city. He came to the city in a broken down Ford which is still here, by the way, in one of our church member's back yard.

He came to my office and told me he needed cash. It was late in the day, so I gave him enough money to get a room at the Y and told him to meet me at the church office in the morning. The next morning I counselled with him for about four hours, and after counselling with him for a short period,I realized that he was simply one of those misguided individuals who do not want to face the responsibility of raising a family, so, consequently, he was running from his family responsibilities. He told me that he was converted and joined the church several years ago. He said he knew the pastors in Wyoming and California. For the first time in my life I got tough, and I indicated to him that in my opinion he was the lowest thing on earth for siring a family and then not fulfilling his obligation to that family.

He left my office, and I decided to put in a few phone calls. I found out that this young man got a little religion and had been living off the church ever since. The man up in Wyoming had given him money and a job, and one day the man just walked out and left. I called the pastor in California and found out that his family was still there and his old job was waiting for him. Apparently, he didn't have to leave there to find work, but he had just walked out on his family.

About four o'clock the same afternoon, he walked into my office. He said, "Bee-shop (he always called me that although that isn't my title), you know you're the first one that ever talked to me like that." And this was in a gruff voice, you know, and I thought he was going to say, "Nobody's ever talked to me like that and you're not going to get away with it either." But it was the other way around. Nobody had ever taken the time to counsel with him and tell him what the straight facts were. And he said, "I appreciate this. I want to go home and fulfill my obligations."

So at about this point I said, "Well, when's the next train out?" The next train out was 30 minutes away. So I wrote out a check to the company for the exact amount plus another check for some spending money, and put him in my car and headed for the station. About at this point a strange thing happened which didn't make sense to me. He said, "Bee-shop, could we stop the car a minute, and will you pray for me?" And this stopped me cold. I didn't even know how to react. We

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stopped and had a prayer together. Then we drove up to the station, and I personally saw him on the train. I've had reports since then that he is back home and at his old job. From that time forward I don't know what's happened to him.

A Ghost Comes to the City

There is an older couple who live here in Comfort Quarters. They came to the city from a small town, and they have had a very rough time of it. I have known them for some time, and have helped them with little things. When they get sick they are afraid to go to City Hospital, so we go with them, and other little things like that come up. These people have a little boy; they are old to have such a little boy. Anyhow, the boy began to have nightmares, and he would wake up screaming at night. They felt the nightmares were caused by a ghost who lived in their apartment.

They came to see me, and they told me about the ghost. I tried to tell them that there were no ghosts and they shouldn't be frightened. But they insisted it was a ghost, and other people talked to them, but they were still afraid. Then they talked to the social worker, and of course the social worker didn't have time to hear about ghosts. I finally called the Welfare Department and told them how frightened the people were. The Welfare Department finally agreed to let them move to another apartment. They are certain now that it was a ghost, because the boy doesn't have nightmares any more.

A Good Warning System

Once I helped a man open up a checking account. But the things that led up to that are typical for the Spanish person. It's a story that is sad and funny at the same time. This man came to see me because he was in financial trouble, and he heard that I could help him out. He and his wife grew up in a small town, and they just don't know much about city ways. They came up to the city, and the husband got a job; it wasn't much of a job, but it gave them enough money to get by on. They rented a little apartment with four small rooms. One night a salesman stopped in and he sold them twelve fire sirens for their apartment. Can you imagine that? Twelve sirens in four small rooms, and they cost over five hundred dollars. That must have been one good salesman.

For two years he made his payments on the fire sirens, but he made all the payments with money orders. Then he lost his job, and they had to move to a cheaper place. In the process he lost all his stubs for the money orders he had given to pay for the fire sirens. He missed a couple of payments on the sirens, and they came to get them. He had lost his record of payments, and didn't know what to do. Well, there wasn't much I could do about the twelve fire sirens, but I took him to a bank and showed him how a checking account works so the next time he buys something he will have a better record. The funny thing is that he still doesn't know that you don't need twelve fire sirens for an apartment with four small rooms.

It's Tough to Go Straight

It's tough to go straight once you have pulled time, especially if you're Spanish. Like the kid I have been working with here at the Retraining Corps. He has had at least sixty arrests, a long record, and right now he is facing a rap for larceny and possession of narcotics. I got him out on bail through Alonso's bonding company. Alonso just gave the kid the bond with no hopes for getting any money. In the meantime the kid got married, and he got into our training program here.

The time came for his hearing on the charges, and just before the hearing his lawyer called him and said he dropped the case because he wasn't getting any money. So I went to court with the kid. You should have heard the judge yell at him; he was really sore because the kid didn't have legal counsel and he couldn't hang a sentence on him. This was on a Friday, and the judge said that he had better show up with a lawyer by Wednesday or else. We called a coupla lawyers, but they don't want to defend people who can't pay. Then on Monday the kid's wife got real sick. She was pregnant and something went wrong. The kid didn't show up for classes that day. I guess his wife almost died at the hospital.

The kid was afraid of what would happen because we didn't get a lawyer. So on Tuesday he went to see the judge, and he told him that he couldn't find anyone to defend him. The judge got mad again and told him that he refused to appoint an attorney to a guy who could dig up five hundred dollars to pay bail so he could be out having a good time. You see, the judge didn't know that Alonso had put up the bail without charging the kid. Now that little talk with the judge didn't help the kid. He called me later in the afternoon, and I could tell he was drunk. I was afraid he would do something foolish, so I told the barkeep to hang onto him until I got there.

I got the kid, but didn't know what to do. Finally, I thought I might as well call Alonso and tell him what was going on. He told me to call Attorney Donald. I called Donald and told him all about the kid and how he was training for a job, but I told him we didn't have any money. Donald told us that he didn't care about the money; he got plenty of that from people who could afford it. Well, to make it short, before that day was over Donald got the case continued for a week, and he is sure he can get the kid probation.

It's tough to go straight. I know because I went down the same road myself. It's tough especially when you are Spanish because the courts don't respect you. They take one look at you, and they think you are good for nothing.

Only Twenty Days

All kinds of things happen when you run an employment agency like mine. One day the Welfare Department called me and asked me if I could help a man who was out of work but wasn't eligible for Welfare's assistance. They sent him down, and then he told me his story.

He said he had only twenty days left to stay in our country, and he wanted a job till then so he could buy food. He had been in the country for about a month and a half, and was really destitute. He used to have a garage in a small town in Mexico. One day a car stopped in, and it needed a new crankshaft. He put it in, and when the man came to get the car he told him, "Today I feel good. It is a beautiful day. I want to do something good for my fellowman, so I charge you nothing."

You must know how surprised the car owner was. He told him that he owned a big car company here in this city, and he told the garageman that he wanted him to come and work for him. He said he would pay him a good wage, and he could have a nice house and many fine things like people have in this country. The man knew that he couldn't get a visa to leave Mexico, but the car owner said you do so and so and then you can sneak into the country. Then you come to my big garage and I will give you a good job.

The man thought and thought about it, and he thought it was a good thing. One day he sold his garage and did what the man told him, and he came up to the city. He looked up the big garageman, but when he found this big man he told him he was very sorry but there were no jobs in his big garage. So the man didn't know what he should do. He soon spent all his money, and, then too, he worried about sneaking into this country. One day he went to confession,and he told the priest what he had done. The priest called the immigration people, and they told him he had twenty days to get out of the country. That was his story.

I took him to a mission on Skidrow where I know one of the officers. We got him some food and some money. I also let him fix my car, and some of my friends let him fix their cars. That way he got enough money to live on. When the twenty days were over the immigration people put him and his family on a plane, and they went back to Mexico.

A Name in the Paper

People not only come up to my office to ask for help, but they also call me from out of town. Once I got a telephone call from a girl in a small town south of here. She told me that she wanted to come to the city and work. She wondered if I could give her any advice. I didn't know the girl; I didn't even recognize her name. But I grew up in that town and still go back to visit relatives. As you know, my name appears in the papers quite a bit, and that is where she got the idea to call me.

I told her to write me a letter about her skills. She sent me a nice long letter, and at that time I happened to know of a job opening for a secretary in one of our community centers. I wrote back and told her about the job. She came up and was hired, and the whole thing has worked out very well. Now there's a girl who called me because she saw my name in the paper.

It's Just Money Out of My Pocket

I spend a lot of time hanging around bars. In my business that's how you make a living. You run into a lot of situations in bars. One day I was sitting in a place trying to sell the bartender when a guy walks in. He sat down and had a beer. No one else was in there, and you know how it goes in bars; we just started talking about this and that. The guy said that he's been up against it, and he was on his way to hock his good clothes because school was starting and his kids needed shoes.

We kept talking, and it ended up that I took him home in my car, picked up all of his kids, and took them to Penneys. I guess there were five or six kids, and I bought them each a pair of shoes. The man felt it was a very good day then, and he was so thankful. I guess it meant a lot to the kids. They all got new shoes, and I had a good feeling. It was really something for the kids, but it was just money out of my pocket.

A Little Old Lady

One night a couple weeks ago a little old lady in one of our housing projects called me up. It was almost midnight when she called, and she wanted to know how you go about making out a will. I became worried immediately because that's a funny time to start making out a will. I talked to her about wills and how you have to have an attorney to get it made legal and all that. Then when I hung up, I called a social worker and sent her over to the house immediately.

The social worker found that the little old lady was sad and depressed. It was the third night her husband hadn't come home, and she was all upset and worried. She cheered up some that night, and the next day we went looking for a lost husband. We finally tracked him down and told him that his wife was really in bad shape. He is home with her now and things seem to be going alright. We just have to keep our eye on situations like that. But it's little things like that which take up our time, and we get calls all the time for them.

A Short Summer

A guy called me from Skidrow. I didn't know him, but he said they had a guy down there who was stranded and didn't have any money. So I sent a coupla boys down to pick him up. They found them, and there must have been ten or twelve people in one old car and a coupla dogs.

The man said they were from Texas, and he was on his way to work in the fields in Nebraska for the summer. They were part of a caravan but got lost from the rest of the cars. They ran out of gas about thirty miles south of here; somebody gave them a little gas and they got to the city. They had very poor tires on the car, and by the time they got to the city the jalopy stopped running. They had been living in the car for three days and had used up all their money.

I called the Welfare Department, but they said they couldn't help in such a case. They did say they would come and get the kids and put them into a home. I didn't want them to do this. The people were frightened to death--in a strange city--no money--no friends, and they couldn't speak a word of English. They didn't even know how to use a telephone. So I got them a room in a hotel, and I bought food for them. Then I got on the telephone and started calling people. We got enough money together to fix the car, put new tires on it, and had extra money for food and gas.

The worst of it is, they didn't have any idea where they were supposed to go in Nebraska, and you know Nebraska's a pretty big state to go driving around in. They finally decided to go back to Texas, and that's the last we saw of them. Those poor people, they had planned on working in the fields all summer. It was a short summer for them.

Sometimes It's Too Late

Some of these people have really gone through a lot. I am thinking now of a girl I got to know some months ago. She grew up with almost no parents at all, so she had to make her own way from the time she was just a little girl. Her parents both drank a lot, and they just didn't care. By the time this little girl was fourteen years old, she was making a good living as a streetwalker. Somewhere along the line she started taking dope, and she turned into a junky. I don't think there is anything worse than being a junky.

Somebody called me and told me about her. She wanted to change things, for she had a baby and wanted to be a good mother to her baby. We managed to get her into the program here at the Retraining Corps, and she was very happy to have a chance. I found out she was a junky, so I took her to this doctor friend of mine. He gave her pills and counselled with her to help her get off the stuff. For two months she didn't touch it, and every day she came to her classes.

Then one day we had agreed to meet, and she didn't show up. I waited and waited, but she didn't come. This wasn't like her, so I went to her apartment to see what was wrong. When I got there, I noticed that the door was open. I called, but no one answered. So I walked into the room and saw her baby playing on the floor. I looked in her bedroom, and found her on the bed. She was dead. She died from an overdose of narcotics. The cops had been clamping down on the pushers, and I think she got a bad mix from somebody.

You know, I loved that little girl. She was like a daughter to me. But sometimes--sometimes it's just too late to help.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSIONS

One of the most challenging and difficult tasks in which the social scientist can engage is the seemingly simple work of description. In a sense, description was the purpose of this study. The intention was to describe the informal system of help which is available to the rurally oriented person who is struggling to find a place in the modern city. This study is only one of many possible descriptions, for other perspectives and emphases could have served as selectors for determining what was taking place. Like every description of human activity, this study is an amazingly simple and uncomplicated account in light of the conglomeration of activities, the confusion of values, and the complex interrelations which occupied the observer's attention.

The opening chapter of this study reviewed a core of literature which discussed the cultural characteristics of the rural Spanish-American community and of the modern Anglo community. The differences between the two cultures have existed for many generations. Cultural conflict has been set in motion by the migration of rural Spanish-Americans to the urban community. The physical location of the Spanish-Americans in the midst of the urban Anglo culture strains the cultural patterns of the Spanish. There is substantial empirical evidence in the reports of the Census Bureau that the Spanish surnamed person does not receive the same benefits from the urban environment which the non-Spanish population receives. The Census material portrays the person of Spanish descent as a non-affluent member of an affluent society.

The concept of acculturation discussed earlier deals with the general processes which are generated when two diverse cultures come into continuous contact. The interest in the process of acculturation in this work is focused on one-way acculturation; that is, it is concerned with the process of acculturating Spanish persons to the cultural patterns of the urban society. This emphasis is not intended to devalue the Spanish culture, for ". . . what is important to understand is that the term acculturation in no way implies that cultures party to contact are to be distinguished from each other as 'higher', or 'more advanced', or as having a greater 'content of civilization' or to differ in any other qualitative manner."[1] The emphasis on one-way acculturation is in keeping with the focus of the study, the process of urbanization among rurally oriented Spanish-Americans.

The broad scope of the concept of acculturation is narrowed in this study by the introduction of the concept of systemic linkage. Systemic links are those channels through which cultural differences are reconciled. The concept of gatekeeper was also introduced to describe the links which exist between the two cultures; the gatekeepers are the vehicles which transmit elements of the urban culture to members of the rural Spanish culture. Gatekeepers are effective through their contacts with resources in the Anglo community which can provide members of the Spanish culture with experience in the social roles of Anglo dwellers.

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[1] Herskovits, Man . . ., p. 529.

Although gatekeeping activity is highly informal and takes place outside of the formal institutions of the city, it tends to take place through sets of interactions which emerge as regularized patterns of activity. The routinized channels of gatekeeping are structured within cliques of individuals who depend on each other to perform gatekeeping functions. The cliques perform functions which are in keeping with the resources to which clique members have access through their associations and social locations in the urban milieu.

Most of the individual cliques are tied to each other by key persons who appear as cosmopolitans in the gatekeeping system. The gatekeeper influentials are the major resource persons to whom most efforts to deal with problems of the Spanish lead. The gatekeeper influentials hold key occupational and organizational positions in the community; they are the elite company of gatekeepers. The description of the clique members demonstrate that gatekeeping flourishes in a wide variety of occupational, organizational, and social settings. The diversified sets of associations which gatekeepers use to bring the Spanish surnamed into urban social worlds demonstrate the informality of the gatekeeping process. A gatekeeper uses his friends, his fellow workers, and his acquaintances in community agencies to achieve his gatekeeping goals.

The accounts of gatekeepers in action provide a further description of the process of gatekeeping. The gatekeeper steps into the life events of those he helps. Sometimes a telephone call, an interpretation of a rule, or a successful step around institutional requirements enables the gatekeeper to move a family from the brink of despair into a world of hope. Sometimes he watches as hope vanishes from the lives of those who have problems to which he can find no answers. Sometimes he is involved with problems which are important in the eyes of any man. Sometimes he spends his time and energy on problems which are insignificant to the most ordinary person. Sometimes he is too late to help.

Descriptions of things that are going on in society are important, for they give the social scientist additional information which can guide his investigation of society. Descriptions of social events are also interesting, for they permit us to pursue life with broader perspectives and greater wisdom. Careful descriptions are particularly important to those who participate in the activities which have been described. The description of gatekeeping activities points out some of the inefficiencies which exist in the informal process. The gatekeepers are aware of these inefficiencies, they are aware of the inadequacies which mark their efforts to help those who cannot help themselves, and they are constantly seeking means by which their attempts to help can be made more fruitful. Throughout the interviews, gatekeepers were sharing ideas and plans for speeding and improving the adjustment of Spanish-Americans to urban life.

Irwin T. Sanders wrote, "Almost every American community has a social graveyard of unsuccessful community projects. The epitaphs on these community tombstones show with what high hopes these projects came into being and how disillusioning was their death."[2] The description presented here is aimed at providing information which will be useful to those who plan projects in order that their projects for helping migrants to the city escape the graveyard which Sanders depicted.

It is useful then to compare the observed gatekeeping system with the ideal model for gatekeeping. It will be recalled that the ideal model was primarily aimed at improving the efficiency of the ongoing system. It seems that the key to creating an efficient system lies in providing links for each gatekeeper to the entire array of role contexts or social worlds to which the Spanish surnamed person must be introduced if he is to be integrated into the stream of urban living. Participation in the social worlds of the urban community enables the rurally oriented person to learn the urban roles, and this learning is a process of acculturation.

The gatekeepers observed in the community are limited in the number of roles to which they can lead the non-acculturated person. Nine role contexts were used in the study, but, including the subroles in the dweller and manager roles, there were 15 role contexts in which gatekeepers could be active. The average number of role contexts in which the 68 gatekeepers participated was only six.

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[2] Sanders, The Community, p. xi.

This means that the average gatekeeper helps persons in only six out of the 15 role contexts. There is no empirical evidence that the average gatekeeper encounters problems related to all 15 of the role contexts, but during the interviews there were frequent comments from gatekeepers which indicated that they received requests for help in areas for which they had no resources to provide assistance.

Table 35 presents the number of gatekeepers who participate in each of the 15 role contexts. It is clear that the 68 gatekeepers concentrate their efforts in certain key areas. The only role contexts which receive attention from more than half of the sample members are the worker, the patient, the client, and the legal roles.

TABLE 35

DISTRIBUTION OF GATEKEEPING FUNCTIONS

Worker	House Buyer	House Renter	Public Housing
63	5	19	21
Religion	Buyer	Seller	Loans
23	26	5	27
Savings	Checking Accounts	Patient	Client
9	3	44	53
Organizations		Legal	Communications
26		53	33

Spanish-Americans who need help in these roles are more visible than those who are unsuccessful in other role contexts. The unemployed person, the physically handicapped person, the family without financial support, and the legally deviant person present visible failures of adjustment which attract the attention of the public. Problems in other areas, such as housing and management of finances are more subtle and are less likely to receive attention, but a lack of skill in operating in these roles inhibits the process of adjustment. It is important, for instance, to provide a husband with work. But if the income from his job is spent on costly fire sirens or quality vacuum cleaners for a home with rough wooden floors, the likelihood of the family succeeding is severely limited.

The inefficiency of the informal system is further demonstrated by the role contexts in which cliques become involved. Only one clique, the Voice of the Community, participates as a unit in as many as six role contexts. Six of the cliques provide help as a group in only three roles, three help in only two roles, and four cliques provide assistance as a group in only one role context. One of the cliques does not have all of its members operating in any one of the roles. Thus, the dependency which is made possible through the personal clique association is exploited in only a limited number of role contexts.

Another indication of the inefficiency of the system rests in the burden which is placed on certain members of the gatekeeping system. For instance, the five top influentials in the gatekeeping system are also contacted by the most members of the system. Juan has 33 members of the gatekeeping system who contact him directly for access to community resources. This may be due to his position in a public agency, but Alonso, who operates his own business, is contacted by 28 members of the sample. It must be noted that the gatekeepers are community members who have responsibilities to their own families, their occupations, and their own personal goals. The inefficiency of the ongoing system makes unusually severe demands on willing helpers. Thus, an employer becomes involved in locating dwellings, and his lack of skill in this area makes it a time consuming effort. A physician spends time looking for free clothing, a social worker tries to help someone who is in legal difficulty, an attorney tries to find a free hospital bed for a poverty stricken father. The point is that gatekeepers are spending much of their effort in areas of urban living in which they are not adept.

The purpose here is not to decry the informality of the system. It is the informal nature of gatekeeping which makes it so useful to the Spanish-American. Any attempt to establish a gatekeeping institution with bureaucratic trappings would result in failure. Formal gatekeeping agencies already exist in the city. They exist in the employment agencies, the real estate agencies, the churches, the financial institutions, the health organizations, the welfare projects, the voluntary organizations, the courts and attorney's offices, and the centers of mass communication.

Informal gatekeeping, such as that which is reported in this study, is significant in the acculturation process because it is a part of the incidentalness of life. The gatekeeper helps those who happen to cross his path, those who become his acquaintances through the chance associations which characterize social activity, and those who draw his attention as he makes his way through his daily routine.

This informal system of helping others is desirable and needed. But the efficiency of informal gatekeeping can be improved. The idea of a central gatekeeping station would seem to be a step towards improving the present system without destroying its merits. It will be recalled that the idea of a central station is similar to that of a relay station. It would be a central office to which gatekeepers could turn for resources in urban roles which lie outside of their own specialized roles. It would provide each gatekeeper with links to every social world which the unskilled rural person must master in adjusting to urban life. And the promotion of the station and its function would increase the awareness of possibilities for assistance and it would increase the corps of gatekeepers.

A central gatekeeping station would not be difficult to establish or maintain. It could be staffed with volunteers, or it could be integrated into an existing community agency funded by the city, designed specifically to help persons of Spanish descent who are experiencing problems in adjusting to urban life.

This study suggests that one of the key considerations in creating a central gatekeeping station is the representation of various groups in the urban milieu. The 15 cliques which were found operate in various arenas of social life in the city. The analysis of the influence structure also indicates that some persons are considered to be more important than others in the gatekeeping system. Each of the influential gatekeepers represents different groups of Spanish surnamed people in the community. The success of the central station for gatekeepers would be dependent on the support of the influential gatekeepers. Thus, the influential gatekeepers should be brought together as a panel of leaders for the central gatekeeping station. In this way the central station would not represent only one or two groups in the community, but it would be supported by the leaders of the total Spanish urban community.

A process of acculturation was observed, and it has been described. The description is inadequate, as is every description of social phenomena. The limitations on what can be seen during observation are nurtured by each observer's built-in idiosyncracies. The description given here will be relevant to some and questioned by others. The merit of the description does not lie in its finality as a description; it lies in the meaning it has for the gatekeepers and for those who need help in the community.

APPENDIX I

Schedule I (Taped Interviews)

Respondent's Name ____________________________

1. Describe what your job consists of.

2. Does your job enable you to help Spanish-Americans with the problems they face in adjusting to life in the city? (If yes, go on to 3; if no, go on to 13.)

3. What kind of help are you able to give Spanish-Americans because of your job here? (Probe for help given through individuals or organizations in each of the following categories. If help is given in a category, go on to 4 for each category in which help is given.)

   a. finding a job.
   b. finding a place to live.
   c. dealing with family problems.
   d. dealing with religious problems or needs.
   e. dealing with money (buying, selling, loans).
   f. dealing with organizations (gaining membership in an organization, or problems with an organization).
   g. welfare or similar assistance.
   h. help with legal problems.
   i. help with physical illness or emotional upset.
   j. advice on which news media to use.

4. Describe an incident in which you helped someone. (Probe for the first time help was given to an individual, the last time help was given to him, and the most significant help offered.)

   a. Why did he come to you?
   b. Who told him about you?
   c. How did you find out about him?
   d. Who told you about him?
   e. What did you do for him?
   f. What advice did you give him?
   g. What kind of information did you give him?
   h. Whom did you send him to?
   i. Do you know what the outcome was?
   j. What do you think would have happened if you hadn't helped him?
   k. Did you feel that you were giving him a "break" or are you expected to give help because of your job?

1. How could things be improved so this kind of help would be more available?

5. Would you say that people who come here for help are:

___a. better off financially than most Spanish-Americans?
___b. about average for Spanish-Americans in the city?
___c. worse off than most Spanish-Americans in the city?
___d. don't know.

6. Would you say that the people who come here for help have:

___a. better education and training than most Spanish-Americans in the city?
___b. an average education and training for Spanish-Americans in the city?
___c. less education and training than most Spanish-Americans in the city?
___d. don't know.

7. Would you say that most of the people you deal with have been in the city for:

___a. only a year or less?
___b. about 5 to 7 years or less?
___c. about 8 to 10 years or less?
___d. most of them have always lived in the city?
___e. don't know.

8. Would you say that most of the people who come to you for help came to the city from:

___a. some other large city?
___b. a rural area, or a small town?
___c. don't know.

9. Would you say that most of the people who come to you for help are:

___a. friends?
___b. relatives?
___c. sent by friends or relatives of yours?
___d. strangers?

10. Of the ways in which you have been able to help people here on the job, what do you think is most valuable in assisting people to deal with the problems of city living?

11. What effect does the help you give have on him in dealing with the problems of city living?

12. Do you know of others who help Spanish-Americans?

13. Do you help Spanish-Americans in ways which are not part of your job here? (If yes, go back to 3 through 12. If no here as well as no in 2, terminate interview.)

14. Do you know of any individuals or organizations to which newcomers to the city can go for help in the areas mentioned above?

15. Is there any way in which newcomers to the city can find out about the help which is available? For instance, do individual organizations advertise their help?

16. Someone said, "The trouble with the Spanish-Americans is that those who are in positions where they could help members of their ethnic group get so involved with themselves that they forget about helping the group." What do you think of that statement?

17. Someone said, "The problems that Spanish-Americans face in the city aren't any different than those which other groups have in city life. Those who get out and really try will make out pretty well, and those who don't make out are in trouble because they don't have any get-up-and-go." What do you think of that statement?

(If at this point the person is evaluated as involved in the gatekeeping process, go on to the life history of the gatekeeper.)

18. Where was your father born? (city, state, country)

19. What was the highest grade your father completed in school?

20. What did your father do for a living? (Brief description of his occupational history.)

21. Where was your mother born? (city, state, country)

22. What was the highest grade your mother completed in school?

23. Where were you born?

24. How many brothers and sisters do you have?

25. What are your brothers and sisters doing now?

26. Briefly tell me about the places you lived with your family beginning with the place of birth. (get history of moves, where school was attended, where school was completed.)

27. What was the highest grade you completed in school?

28. Are you married? (If yes, go on to 29; if no, go on to 34)

29. When did you get married?

30. What was the highest grade your wife completed in school?

31. Do you have any children? (If yes, go on to 32; if no, go on to 34.)

32. What are the dates (year) of your child(ren)'s birth?

33. What are your children doing now?

34. Have you ever been married (before)? (If yes, go on to 35; if no, go on to 39).

35. Were you divorced, separated, or widowed?

36. Did you have any children?

37. When were they born?

38. What are they doing now?

39. Where do you live now?

40. Are there others, besides your immediate family, living with you?

41. What did you do after you finished school? (Begin with the first job after leaving school, and trace occupational history up to present position.)

42. How did you get your present job?

    a. who told you about it?
    b. who helped you get the job?

43. In which organizations do you hold membership? (Each organization mentioned should be probed with the following questions.)

    a. How did you decide to join the organization?
    b. Who told you about it?
    c. Whom did you go to your first meeting with?
    d. What are the major goals of the organization?
    e. Does the organization accomplish its goal?
    f. Whom does the organization help most?

APPENDIX II

Final Schedule

Gatekeeper Interview Schedule No. _____

Informant's Name ____________________________

Informant's Address ____________________________

Informant's Telephone Number _______________

Worker Role

1. Do you ever help Spanish-Americans find jobs? No ___ Yes ___

2. Do you help them find jobs:

   a. Very often ___
   b. Often ___
   c. Seldom ___

3. Do you usually help find:

   a. Part-time jobs ___
   b. Temporary full-time jobs ___
   c. Permanent jobs ___
   d. Jobs in unions ___
   e. Jobs offering training skills ___
   f. Others ___

4. Are you ever able to give jobs to Spanish-Americans? No ___ Yes ___

   a. What kinds of jobs do you give them?

5. Do Spanish-Americans ever contact you and ask you to help them find jobs? No ___ Yes ___

   a. What do they seem to expect from you?

   b. What advice do you give them concerning jobs?

6. Does anyone else ever contact you and ask you to help them find a job for a Spanish-American? No ___ Yes ___

   a. Individuals who contact you:
   b. Organizations which contact you:

7. Do you ever contact individuals or organizations in order to help find jobs for Spanish- Americans?

   a. Individuals you contact:

   b. Organizations you contact:

Dweller Role

8. Do you ever help Spanish-Americans find a place to live?
   No ___ Yes ___

9. Do you help them find dwellings:

   a. Very often ___
   b. Often ___
   c. Seldom ___

10. When you help them find housing is it usually to:

    a. Buy a place ___
    b. Rent a house ___
    c. Rent an apartment ___
    d. Get Welfare housing ___
    e. Get Public housing ___
    f. Other ___

11. Do you ever go out and help them look for a place to live?
    No ___ Yes ___

12. Do Spanish-Americans ever contact you and ask you to help them find a place to live? No ___ Yes ___

    a. What kind of advice do you give about housing?

13. Does anyone else ever contact you and ask you to help them find a place for Spanish-Americans to live in? No ___ Yes ___

    a. Individuals who contact you:

    b. Organizations which contact you:

14. Do you ever contact an individual or organization to help find a place for Spanish-Americans to live No ___ Yes ___

    a. Individuals you contact:

    b. Organizations you contact:

Religious Role

15. Do you ever help Spanish-Americans in relation to their religious life? No ___ Yes ___

16. Do you ever help them find:

    a. a church for worship ___
    b. a clergyman ___
    c. a place to baptize their children ___
    d. a place for burial ___
    e. a place for religious instruction ___
    f. a place for marriage ___
    g. other ___

17. Do you help them in this way:

    a. Very often ___
    b. Often ___
    c. Seldom ___

18. Do you ever take Spanish-Americans to church? No ___ Yes ___

    a. Which churches have you taken them to?

19. Do you ever take them to meet a clergyman? No ___ Yes ___

    a. Which clergyman have you taken them to?

20. Do Spanish-Americans ever contact you and ask you about religious matters? No___ Yes ___

    a. What do they ask about?

    b. What kind of advice do you give them?

21. Does anyone else ever contact you and ask you to help someone they know who needs help in the religious role? No ___ Yes ___

    a. Individuals who contact you.

    b. Organizations which contact you:

22. Do you ever contact anyone else and ask them to help Spanish-Americans in regard to their religious life? No ___ Yes ___

    a. Individuals you contact:

    b. Organizations you contact:

Manager Role-Buying

23. Do you ever help Spanish-Americans buy things? No ___ Yes ___

24. Do you help them buy:

   a. groceries ___
   b. furniture ___
   c. appliances ___
   d. automobiles ___
   e. clothing ___
   f. other ___

25. Do you help them in this way:

   a. Very often ___
   b. Often ___
   c. Seldom ___

26. Do you ever go with them and help them buy things? No ___ Yes ___

   a. Where have you taken them?

   b. What did you help them buy?

27. Do Spanish-Americans contact you and ask you about buying things? No ___ Yes ___

28. Does anyone else ever contact you and ask you to help Spanish-Americans in regard to buying things? No ___ Yes ___

   a. Individuals who contact you:

   b. Organizations which contact you:

29. Do you ever contact anyone and ask them to help Spanish-Americans in regard to buying things? No ___ Yes ___

   a. Individuals you contact:

   b. Organizations you contact:

Manager Role-Selling

30. Do you ever help Spanish-Americans sell things? No ___ Yes ___

   a. What have you helped them sell?

31. Do you help in this way:

    a. Very often ___
    b. Often ___
    c. Seldom ___

32. Do you ever go with Spanish-Americans to help them sell things?
    No ___ Yes ___

    a. Where have you taken them to sell things?

33. Do Spanish-Americans ever contact you and ask you about selling things? No ___ Yes ___

    a. What do they ask about?

    b. What kind of advice do you give them?

34. Does anyone else ever contact you and ask you to help Spanish-Americans who what to sell things? No ___ Yes ___

    a. Individuals who contact you:

    b. Organizations which contact you:

35. Do you ever contact anyone and ask them to help Spanish-Americans who want to sell things?

    a. Individuals you contact:

    b. Organizations you contact:

Manager Role-Loans

36. Do you ever help Spanish-Americans with loans? No ___ Yes ___

37. Do you help in this way:

    a. Very often ___
    b. Often ___
    c. Seldom ___

38. Do you ever go with them to get a loan? No ___ Yes ___

    a. Where do you take them?

39. Do Spanish-Americans ever contact you and ask you about loans?
    No ___ Yes ___

    a. What do they ask about?

    b. What kind of advice do you give them?

40. Does anyone else ever contact you and ask you to help Spanish-Americans in regard to loans? No ___ Yes ___

    a. Individuals who contact you:

    b. Organizations which contact you:

41. Do you ever contact anyone else and ask them to help Spanish-Americans in regard to loans? No ___ Yes ___

    a. Individuals you contact:

    b. Organizations which you contact:

Manager Role-Savings

42. Do you ever help Spanish-Americans in regard to savings plans?
    No ___ Yes ___

43. Do you help them in this way:

    a. Very often ___
    b. Often ___
    c. Seldom ___

44. Do you ever take them out and help them open savings accounts?
    No ___ Yes ___

    a. Where have you taken them?

45. Do Spanish-Americans ever contact you and ask you about savings?
    No ___ Yes ___

    a. What do they ask about?

    b. What advice do you give them?

46. Does anyone else ever contact you and ask you to help a Spanish-American in regard to savings? No ___ Yes ___

    a. Individuals who contact you:

    b. Organizations which contact you:

47. Do you ever contact anyone and ask them to help Spanish-Americans in regard to savings? No ___ Yes ___

    a. Individuals you contact:

    a. Organizations you contact:

Manager Role-Checking Accounts

48. Do you ever help Spanish-Americans in regard to checking accounts?
No ___ Yes ___

49. Do you help them in this way:

a. Very often ___
b. Often ___
c. Seldom ___

50. Do you ever take them out and help them open checking accounts?
No ___ Yes ___

a. Where have you taken them?

51. Do Spanish-Americans ever contact you and ask you about checking accounts? No ___ Yes ___

a. What do they ask you about?

b. What advice do you give them?

52. Does anyone else ever contact you and ask you to help Spanish-Americans in regard to checking accounts? No ___ Yes ___

a. Individuals who contact you:

b. Organizations which contact you:

53. Do you ever contact anyone else and ask them to help Spanish-Americans in regard to checking accounts? No ___ Yes ___

a. Individuals you contact:

b. Organizations you contact:

Patient Role

54. Do you ever help Spanish-Americans in regard to sickness?
No ___ Yes ___

55. Do you ever help them find:

a. a psychiatrist ___
b. a doctor ___
c. a chiropractor ___
d. a dentist ___
e. a medica ___
f. an albolario ___
g. a medical hospital ___
h. a clinic ___

i. a drugstore ___
j. herb medicines ___
k. eye glasses ___
l. mental hospital ___
m. other ___

56. Do you help in this way:

a. Very often ___
b. Often ___
c. Seldom ___

57. Do you ever take Spanish-Americans to places for medical help?
No ___ Yes ___

a. Where have you taken them?

58. Do they ever contact you and ask for help in dealing with sickness? No ___ Yes ___

a. What do they ask about?

b. What advice do you give them?

59. Does anyone else ever contact you and ask you for help in dealing with Spanish-Americans and illness? No ___ Yes ___

a. Individuals who contact you:

b. Organizations which contact you:

60. Do you ever contact anyone else and ask them to help in dealing with a Spanish-American and illness? No ___ Yes ___

a. Individuals you contact:

b. Organizations you contact:

Client Role

61. Do you ever help Spanish-Americans in dealing with welfare or other kinds of emergency assistance? No ___ Yes ___

62. Do you ever help them in regard to:

a. Child welfare ___
b. Old age pension ___
c. A.D.C. ___
d. Aid to Needy disabled ___
e. General assistance ___
f. Red Cross ___
g. Catholic Charities ___
h. Denver Boys, Inc. ___

i. LAEF ___
j. Denver Lifeline Mission ___
k. Denver Rescue Mission ___
l. Goodwill ___
m. Salvation Army ___
n. St. Vincent de Paul ___
o. Volunteers of America ___
p. Citizens Mission ___
q. Unemployment Compensation ___
r. Other ___

63. Do you help them in this way:

a. Very often ___
b. Often ___
c. Seldom ___

64. Do you ever take them to these places for help? No___ Yes ___

a. Where have you taken them?

65. Do Spanish-Americans contact you and ask you for help in dealing with Welfare or other emergency problems? No ___ Yes ___

a. What do they ask about?

b. What advice do you give them?

66. Does anyone else ever contact you and ask you to help Spanish-Americans with Welfare or other emergency assistance? No ___ Yes ___

a. Individuals who contact you:

b. Organizations which contact you:

67. Do you ever contact anyone and ask them to help Spanish-Americans with Welfare or other emergency assistance? No ___ Yes ___

a. Individuals you contact:

b. Organizations you contact:

Organizational Role

68. Do you ever help Spanish-Americans in regard to organizations? No ___ Yes ___

69. Do you ever help them in regard to:

a. Denver Commission on Community Relations ___
b. LARASA ___
c. American G I Forum ___

d. United Mothers Club ___
e. Good Americans Organization ___
f. LAEF ___
g. Los Voluntarios ___
h. American Legion ___
i. Denver Luncheon Club ___
j. SPMDTU ___
k. ADC Mothers ___
l. SLVFC ___
m. LULACS ___
n. Alianza Hispana-Americana ___
o. Others ___

70. Do you help in this way:

a. Very often ___
b. Often ___
c. Seldom ___

71. Do you ever take them to these organizations? No ___ Yes ___

a. Which organizations have you taken them to?

72. Do you ever take them to meet members of organizations?
No ___ Yes ___

a. To members of which organizations are you most likely to introduce them?

73. Do Spanish-Americans ever contact you and ask you about organizations? No ___ Yes ___

a. What do they ask about?

b. What advice do you give them?

74. Does anyone ever contact you and ask you to help Spanish-Americans in regard to organizations? No ___ Yes ___

a. Individuals who contact you:

b. Organizations which contact you:

75. Do you ever contact anyone and ask them to help Spanish-Americans in regard to organizations? No ___ Yes ___

a. Individuals you contact:

b. Organizations you contact:

Legal Role

76. Do you ever help Spanish-Americans with legal problems?
No___ Yes ___

77. Do you ever help them:

a.	find a lawyer	___
b.	when they are arrested	___
c.	with bail bonds	___
d.	with legal documents	___
e.	on parole	___
f.	on probation	___
g.	with police brutality	___
h.	with financial problems	___
i.	with divorce problems	___
j.	with delinquent juveniles	___
k.	other	___

78. Do you help them in this way:

a.	Very often	___
b.	Often	___
c.	Seldom	___

79. Do you ever take them to any of these places for help?
No ___ Yes ___

a. What kind of help have you taken them to?

80. Do Spanish-Americans ever contact you and ask you to help them in dealing with legal problems? No ___ Yes ___

a. What do they ask about?

b. What advice do you give them?

81. Does anyone else ever contact you and ask you to help a Spanish-American with legal problems? No ___ Yes ___

a. Individuals who contact you:

b. Organizations which contact you:

82. Do you ever contact anyone else and ask them to help Spanish-Americans with legal problems? No ___ Yes ___

a. Individuals you contact:

b. Organizations you contact:

Communications Role

83. Do you ever help Spanish-Americans in regard to newspaper and magazine articles, or radio and TV programs? No ___ Yes ___

84. Do you help in this way:

    a. Very often ___
    b. Often ___
    c. Seldom ___

85. Do they ever ask you what you think of certain articles or programs? No ___ Yes ___

86. Do you ever contact them and advise them to read certain articles or listen to certain programs? No ___ Yes ___

87. Do you ever contact them in order to give them your opinion of an article or program which appeared? No ___ Yes ___

88. Do individuals or organizations ever contact you and ask you to tell Spanish-Americans about certain articles and programs? No ____ Yes ____

    a. Individuals who contact you:

    b. Organizations which contact you:

89. Do you ever contact individuals or organizations and ask them to tell Spanish-Americans about certain articles or programs? No ___ Yes ____

    a. Individuals you contact:

    b. Organizations you contact:

90. Which newspapers do you recommend to Spanish-Americans?

91. Which magazines do you recommend to Spanish-Americans?

92. Which radio stations do you recommend to Spanish-Americans?

93. Which TV channels do you recommend to Spanish-Americans?

Life History

94. In what year were you born?

95. Where were you born?

96. (If not born in Denver.) When did you come to Denver? (Probe for year and circumstances.)

97. Are you married? (Probe for brief marital history.)

98. Where did you attend school? (Probe for history of education.)

99. What is the highest grade you completed in school?

100. What is your occupation?

101. What is your annual income?

Under - $2,000
$2,000 - 2,999
3,000 - 3,999
4,000 - 4,999
5,000 - 5,999
$6,000-$6,999
7,000 - 7,999
8,000 - 8,999
9,000 - 9,999
10,000 - Over

102. In which organizations do you hold membership?

103. Among all the Spanish-Americans in Denver, who do you think is doing the most to help the Spanish people with the problems they face in the urban community? Are there any non-Spanish persons who you think are doing a lot to help? Name at least five if you can.

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